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Rev. Henry Jason Baum

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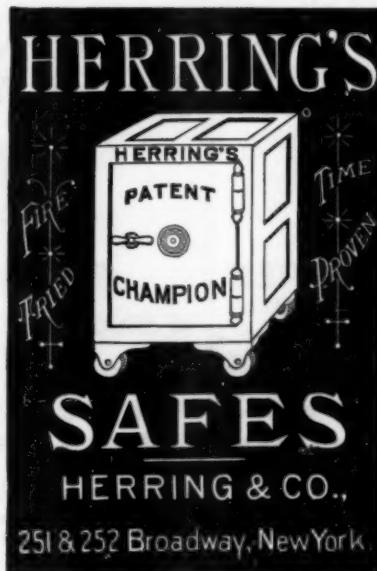
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THE CHURCH REVIEW

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A MODERN SPECTATOR AT A GREEK PLAY.

IN TWO PARTS. PART I.

Sophocles. Ex recensione et cum commentariis GUIL. DINDORF. Oxford: Clarendon Press. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

I HAD been spending my vacation in a small New England town—the brief vacation in the last week of December. This village lay low on the shore, fringing a bay which faces those islands that form a tiny archipelago off the mouth of a well-known river.

The weather had been dull; and a green, or rather a snowless, Christmas, under a sky of lead, sunless and sullen, had at length given place to a change. At the time I write a storm had arisen, and the snow had come in earnest.

There were only two boarders in the dreary inn or hotel where I was staying, myself and the doctor. He was a permanent dweller in the place. I thanked my stars I was only there for a short time in winter. I dare say the place was gay and lively enough in summer, when its piazza would be thronged with its bright company of summer visitors; but now the low rooms, the double windows, the square box-stove, and the strange rations were not conducive to cheerfulness.

I had, however, sought this out of the way place for a special object. I was reading for my degree. My particular study at this time was Greek, and on the morning and afternoon of the day I speak of I had just finished a Greek play. I had toiled conscientiously through the dialogue and choruses of the *Ajax* of Sophocles, and could parse every word and scan every line. I

had, in short, taken by the mechanical rules of syntax and prosody every dimension of what tradition taught me was a masterpiece ; and I felt a little out of conceit with myself, and a little inclined to condemn the play, because I candidly confessed it had disappointed me. To be sure there were some passages which I thought might be effective in declamation, and some sentiments or maxims which might grace a commonplace book. I had found the same pleasure in analysing certain constructions that I might have received from puzzling out a problem in geometry, but life, color, pointed effect, I am ashamed to say, I missed them totally in my Greek play, and I was obliged to take comfort in the unaffected opinion of a clever professor of my acquaintance, educated north of the Tweed : "A Greek play is a poor thing after all."

I was lost in these thoughts with my open book before me, when my companion, who had been observing me curiously for a few moments previously, broke the silence.

"May I ask what you are reading?" he asked.

"I am reading, or rather have been reading Sophocles — his Ajax, I mean."

"You seem to be knitting your brows over it, and yawning, as if instead of being one of the gems of ancient literature, it was — what shall I say? — the printed speech of a Kentucky Congressman, or a manuscript sermon."

"Well, to tell the truth, it's nearly as dull," I said indifferently.

"Do you know, sir," he answered, with a twinkle in his eye, "that this is heresy, rank heresy? Sophocles *dull*?"

"I am afraid he is to me, at least," I replied.

He drew his chair closer to mine, and taking out a cigar lighted it. I knew now that he was going to talk, or rather I should say to discourse.

"A Greek play," he began deliberately, after blowing a cloud of tobacco smoke from his lips, and fixing his eye upon it as it twirled and twisted into thin and still thinner circles of expanding vapor, — "A Greek play in modern type and to modern minds is dull and must be dull. It is as dull as a stained window would be if you were to set it up against a dead wall and decipher the design by the tracery of the leads; but put it in the light — how its colors glow, and its faces smile and its story lives; the sun that beats through it actually transfers its

hues to every object that comes within range of its rays of ruby, of sapphire, of amethyst."

I did not answer.

"It's even duller than that. Have you ever taken up a Latin service-book — Breviary or Missal?"

"I have," I answered.

"Read it?"

"Yes, in parts."

"How did you like it?"

"That's rather an odd question, isn't it?" I replied. "Of course the Latin is neat, and of its kind even beautiful; but works of that class surely do not admit of critical analysis, as works of pure literature."

"We won't enter into that part of the question," he said. "Let me ask you, have you ever seen the services of the book you speak of performed in a cathedral?"

"I confess I have not," I said.

"Ah," he rejoined, "that makes all the difference in the world. Now I happen to have been at S. Peter's, Rome, at the celebration of one of their highest festivals, and I have also witnessed the enthroning of a Pontifex."

"What has that got to do with a Greek play?" I inquired.

"Listen to me," he said. "I had the service-book in my hand, but the service was a very different thing. The long procession in gorgeous vestments, the emblems in gold and jewelry, the heavenly faces, the swinging censer, the clouds of fragrant incense floating to heaven, the human voice, now in clear monotone or recitative, and now joined by a seraphic strain of harmony, — and all under a dome of majestic proportions amid the monuments of a historic Church, and in the presence of a dense crowd of awe-struck worshippers — for all were not mere profane spectators like myself, — these things made up the *service*, a living spectacle of worship, enthusiasm, and doctrine; yet all its essence lay in the dull and lifeless paragraphs of a service-book.

"So your Greek play, as you have it, is a mere text, a score, a service-book. As it was enacted, however, it was a living spectacle, appealing to the faith, the human interest, the hearts and emotions of its audience. It was a species of religious function, and needed as much its accessories as a modern religious function needs its proper setting, so to speak. And what

constitute the accessories of a modern religious function? The vastness of the building in which it is celebrated, the mysterious and half-lighted roof, the soaring columns, the symbols and carvings of mythology in shrine and niche, the rainbow-windows with their strange ascetic figures, half-melancholy faces, illuminated with rapture or awe, and even the cloud and scent of the incense, even the priests in scarlet and purple and cloth of gold, even the peacock-fans and blaze of the throned tiara. Such things are naturally environed by those crowds of sympathetic, wondering worshippers, bending like reeds before the breath of sacred awe that sweeps, as it were, from altar on which are set the secret emblems of religious mystery. For what would the words of the book be without these?—lifeless, almost meaningless; for can you suppose for an instant that the same effect would be produced upon those present at a spectacle like this if they were merely to read over in the closet the words and rubrics of the service?"

"That is out of the question," I replied.

"Then there is a moral influence in a great religious rite such as I have outlined."

"I presume that is the main object of it," I interposed.

"Certainly," he went on, "and some natures are wonderfully affected and impressed by an appeal to the senses such as this. It must indeed suggest many thoughts and reflections even to the most phlegmatic. But the majority of human beings are deeply interested in it. They are for the time lifted above themselves and out of themselves, and very often the solemn and penetrating sentences that are uttered amid such surroundings touch them to the quick; they are reminded of a higher and more ideal way of life; they are made to think of holiness and goodness and peace, of the triumph of virtue, of the beauty and efficacy of patient suffering, of unselfishness, purity, and calm, such as may, perhaps, have little place in their own lives. They are pained or disconcerted, sometimes even ashamed at the thought of their own low, sordid, or degraded, frivolous or hollow fashion of living; they see with self-condemnation a world within their reach other and better than the world they have devoted themselves to. May we call this repentance?"

"Perhaps we may," I answered.

"Well," he went on, "you must not forget that in Greek tragedy there are elements analogous to these."

"The performance of a Greek play was an act of religion ; the altar was the centre of all its lyrical and episodical movement. There was scarcely any more attempt at realistic impersonation than is found in a great piece of ritual in any other religion. The actors wore sacred vestments ; they were merely distinguished as persons in a drama by some emblem which indicated their attributes and character. Nor, on the other hand, was more than the merest attempt made to divorce the drama from the place and scene at Athens where it was set forth — from the sky and scenery of Attica, from the theatre, the Temple of Dionysus. At the back of the theatre rose the hill upon whose summit were ranged the temples and statues which, to the minds of the spectators, were filled with a present deity. The gods of the Acropolis stood in the ante-room of the theatre ; or perhaps it may be more truthfully said that the theatre was the ante-room where for a while the heroic and divine figures elevated to niche and shrine came forth to mingle with their worshippers. From demigod and divinity the stage derived the most solemn religious associations and the most tremendous sanction.

"The dramatist accordingly set forth, in palpable shape and in appropriate language, the lessons which were taught by the lives of those whose forms perpetuated in marble were familiar objects of popular homage. The drama exhibited persistently the paramount nobility of those virtues, the restraints of which were of the highest importance to the sensitive, passionate, and artistic temperament of an ardent and democratic people. Who more than they needed to witness Tragedy, which, according to Aristotle's definition of it, consists in the imitation or representation of a worthy or illustrious and completed action, — a representation which, through pity and fear, might effect in the auditors a purification from these and kindred passions. Something like pity and fear enters into the motives of every form of religious enthusiasm and action. This is none the less true, even although in the case of Christianity we must add to pity its development, love.

"But come up to my room with me. I have some books and prints that may interest you by their bearing on this subject."

He rose and I followed him up the narrow flight of stairs. As we reached the landing a squall of more than usual violence struck the house. The sashes in the passages rattled, the snow

rustled and dashed against the glass ; the tinkle of a sleigh-bell was heard as some benighted traveller hurried past the hotel.

As the squall fell for a moment, the boom of the waves rushed up into our ears.

What a storm it was on sea and land, and how cold !

“ You ’ll soon be out of this place of Scythian horror and frost,” he murmured, alluding, I supposed, to the biting air and gloom of the passage.

As I entered the room into which he ushered me, the soft mellow tones of some wind instrument, low and sweet as a hautboy, stole upon us. The flame which quivered in a bronze lamp of antique form, perhaps a veritable antique, was barely large enough to bring into distinctness the surrounding objects. I could only distinguish dark hangings, the faint gleam of a classic cast or two, and the glitter of some bust of dusky metal.

“ Sit here, please,” he said, pointing to a low arm-chair.

The soft strain of music from the lips of an invisible player seemed to quiet the pulse and lull the senses. Yet it did not interrupt thought or even speech. Somehow it flung into the air a soothing undertone to the quiet mood of reverie or earnest conversation towards which both of us seemed disposed. It actually seemed to me in some unaccountable way to feed and stimulate thought, like the sound of the flute in the ears of the ancient mystic.

Here the doctor began to talk again, to refer, to quote. He read me passages from half a dozen authors ; he showed me drawings from Pompeii, diagrams of dramatic costumes, of masks and buskins. Finally, a magnificent folio was opened. There were French prints of the art remains of Athens, the Parthenon, the whole Acropolis, the Theatre restored.

As we were examining the beautiful figures and mouldings of the monument of Lysicrates, he caught me yawning.

“ You are tired,” he said, “ and want to go. Well, you have for once given me and my hobby full swing, and I am thankful to you for the evening.”

The flute-player in the next room kept on descanting.

“ Before you go, you must finish your hours with Greek literature and art by taking a glass of Greek wine. I have some here of the actual vintage of Lesbos. Doubtless Sappho sometimes tinged her glorious lips with it ; perhaps it may have in-

spired some of those odes of hers with which you are familiar, as well as those whose fragments still shine in literature like priceless gems spilt from a broken tiara."

He had placed a small flask on the table. It contained a thin red wine. Filling two glasses he pushed one towards me, and bowing to me in an old-fashioned way, drained the other. I followed his example. As I did so the music stopped.

"Let me show you the way out, if you must go," he said.

I rose and followed him. We passed behind a curtain, across a dark room, and down a flight of steps. I was astonished to find that they were of dazzling marble.

As we reached the foot of the steps I saw a closed door in front of me. At that moment my companion's lamp went out, and we were in total darkness. I rushed to the door, and feeling for the bolt I quickly shot it back. The door gave way, opening towards the outside, and through the doorway I fell to the ground.

I must have been stunned by the violence of the fall, for when I opened my eyes, I was in a strange country. Was I dreaming? Everything seemed new, yet everything seemed familiar. My very dress was changed.

I saw at once where I was. I had left the land of beating storm and cold and rain. Overhead was the blue arch of sky unflecked by a single cloud; along the path I found myself naturally taking sprang the flame-colored blossoms of the wild sage and prickly plants of half-tropical foliage; the air was soft and mild, and banished the idea of frost far from the mind; it was the air that invited to open the window fearlessly, and linger on the piazza without dread of chill or discomfort, and at every step I took the startled lizard flashed from sunshine to shadow, and in my ears the cicada sang with a shrill note of spring.

I had issued from a by-path or lane on to the high road. I knew the landscape at once. When I turned for a moment I saw behind me the blue hills of "illustrious Salamis," with a sweep of placid sea separating it from the soil I was treading. My way led me towards the city, which rose before me as a familiar scene. Athens stood in the centre of the plain whose edge I was traversing. In the background loomed the hills, which literally, in the language of the Roman poet, were purple. Between me and these converging hills rose an abrupt mound of

white limestone. On its summit gleamed a cluster of temples, and the blaze of sunlight that settled upon the Acropolis brought into prominent light and shade creamy flakes of marble, bickering flashes of color, on pillar and pediment and portico.

I soon joined the motley crowd which was pouring into the city.

I made straight for the theatre, for the Acropolis, and hurriedly mounting the steep pavement of Pentelic marble that formed the principal entrance of those stately gates that opened to the hill of the Parthenon, I rose with a stream of citizens, young and old, up the flight of steps that led to the platform of rock on which the foundations of the temple were laid. I cannot here describe the marble lavished in every form of Grecian architecture on every side, unsullied by smoke, almost unstained by weather; the symmetry and design of every column, the tint of every moulding that glittered in the sun, the hue of every spangled detail, were faultless in their loveliness. I passed friezes sculptured with the exploits of Marathon, or the more mythical triumph of Dionysus. I threaded my way through a crowd of altars and statues and slabs inscribed with the records of Athenian history. My feelings were not so much those of admiration as of awe, when I found myself under the shadow of a statue of bronze some seventy feet in height. The figure bore an oval shield and a gigantic spear, and the brows were surmounted by a helmet. It was Phidias's Athene the Champion.

The citizens looked up to that figure as their protecting deity, and many a sail from the *Ægean* hailed that towering forehead, seen far above the temple roof as an inspiring landmark. I confess at the moment as I stood under that shield, I felt myself, strangely enough, almost with a sense of reality, in the presence of a god.

But the whole place seemed alive with mythologic imagery, with patriotic memorial. And one impression I had at that moment which can never be effaced from my mind. I was struck with the attitude of triumph and of repose which characterised every single heroic figure of art that I found there. These statues could only have been wrought by men who had come to understand the glory of that kingdom and safe diadem which is attained through doing and suffering. There was clearly expressed in every speaking feature the sense of fame

and immortality secured, and the very marble in which those regal forms were cast seemed the fittest material in which to mould limbs and features purged by suffering into a Divine and passionless brightness. The very forms suggested by their silent, motionless seat upon the hilltop, the condition of serene satisfaction which had been reached on the fiery heights of praise and renown through successful struggle and fierce temptation. In that state they seemed, yes, and they were believed, still to live on ; to live and preside over holy Athens, the leaders and guides and protectors of the race from which they had sprung.

I turned my steps towards the theatre. The great theatre of Dionysus at Athens was built against the south cliff of the Acropolis. Part of this cliff was hollowed out and cut away so as to form tiers of seats sloping down the hillside. These again were slabbed with marble. Through the entrance at the topmost row of seats I stepped off the Acropolis through a wide gateway of Ionic pillars. From this gateway I could distinguish in the distance the sunlit sea, dimpling in myriad smiles. Yonder was *A*egina ; on the other side, "sea-girt Salamis," and there a fainter line of purple indicated the shores of Peloponnesus.

Below and around me stretched a vast range of seats into which people were rapidly thronging. I suppose some thirty thousand souls were assembling there.

But first as to the appearance and arrangement of the place. I can only describe it by comparing it with a theatre in London I had once visited, in which was combined not only a theatre, but also a circus ring. Encroaching on an arc of the ring for shows of horsemanship was a regular stage for dramatic representations ; this stage taking up a side of the building.

The arrangements of the theatre of Dionysus were analogous to this. But of course the ancient structure was of larger proportions and of more solid and real beauty in its decorations. It was a temple as well as a theatre, and its object was less illusion than instruction and worship. There was nothing of tinsel or false and artificial splendor in it. The transactions of its stage owed nothing to the warmer glare of the footlights, everything went on in the ordinary light of day, and every detail of its decoration was a work of deliberate, real, and permanent art.

Moreover, the part which would answer to the ring in the modern place I spoke of was raised above the ground floor, so as to be only six feet below the level of the stage. It was called the dancing place, and intended for the evolutions of the chorus. In the geometrical centre of the circle of which it forms the greater part was an elaborate altar, approached by broad steps,—the altar of Dionysus, in whose honor the dramatic representations were held.

The actual stage on which the characters of the play were to speak, and which seemed to lie at quite a distance from the elevated spot where I stood, was a narrow though long area, the outside line of which formed a chord in the circle of the orchestra. There were no hangings in front of it corresponding with the drop-scene or curtain of the modern stage. The back scene, however, was at the moment I entered covered for about thirty feet high by a dark quince-colored hanging. The wings were marble pillars rising from the ends of the stage and supporting above a second narrower and smaller stage or gallery; upon this soared tier after tier of pillars and statues and mouldings, until they met the sky. Of course the theatre was roofless, and above the uppermost range of seats, excepting immediately over the stage, ran a portico or promenade of Ionic columns. Here appeared a promiscuous crowd of fruit, water, and flower sellers, and here also lounged and gossiped groups of spectators who had not yet taken their seats.

I descended the steps, flights of which radiated like spokes of a wheel from the circle of the orchestra, for I wished to place myself at a good post for observation. Of course the lowest rows of seats were reserved for public officers and foreign dignitaries, but I was permitted to take a vacant place about two thirds of the way down.

The lower I had descended, the more I was impressed with the vastness of the crowd among whom I found myself. I turned my eyes in every direction. One section of the auditorium had been separated off for the ladies. There sat, rich in all the graces of form and elegance of toilet, the beautiful creatures whom we only know now from the remains of art which perpetuate them. Distance lent the enchantment necessary to conceal lilies that were whiter than nature made them, and roses which were of more than human bloom. To my youthful eye all was lovely and elegant. I saw a number of slaves, busy

among them, some spreading crimson cushions and rich tapestry ; others bearing bright vessels with fruit and wine ; others still holding aloft parasols or waving fans. There were a hundred styles of headdress among them, a hundred varieties of costume and color. But there seemed to be no lack of beauty among the dames of a city where physical beauty was elevated to a species of virtue, — no lack of fair faces and flashing eyes among these living Muses and Graces and Hebes of Athens. Now and then a gleam of sunlight (as some idle slave let droop for a moment the pole of the palanquin he held aloft) would light up pearly tints and pink reflections on shoulder and cheek and brow, or the raven hair and olive skin of the Dorian blood, the white arm of a Juno, or the throat and neck rival that of Venus of Melos. But these distinct glimpses were only in the foreground ; far away all melted high up the range of seats into an indistinguishable mass of moving heads, soft clouds of drapery, and waving, fluttering fans.

More interesting perhaps to me were the spectators who were clustered in the front seats overlooking the orchestra, and in the seats adjoining these. There I recognised from a well-known antique, somewhat apart from the rest, — as the ruler of men must ever be, — the thunderer of the Assembly, the Saviour of Athens. There sat a crowd of soldiers and sailors and statesmen whom I need not name. Above them there were twenty faces I knew, the intellectual galaxy of Athens in her prime.

And now a long procession is descending the steps from the portico above, a procession which adds to the plain white-cloaked crowd of Athenian citizens the color and variety necessary to lend point and splendor to the blank mass of life which fills the auditorium. They take their seats low down near the orchestra. I am told that they are foreign delegates and representatives from other cities. They are conspicuous in purple and gold, garlanded, and bearing staves of dignity. There is the gaudy, fur-edged cloak of the Thracian, the dazzling scarlet from the soft looms of Ionia, the fanciful embroidery of Sicily. A crowd of foreign poets and rhetoricians and sophists follow in their wake, — of sophists in gay cloaks and miraculous jewelry, half philosopher, half charlatan. All of them eventually settle down and line the seats neighboring on the orchestra with a blaze of particolored splendor, and, seen at a distance, seem like the ring of bright flowers set in the centre of a skilfully

constructed bouquet of lighter hue. As the curiosity which these visitors attract partially subsides the crowd sinks into comparative repose and almost silence.

And now an interesting exhibition of popular feeling agitated for a moment the assembly.

Among the boys, to whom a special place had been appointed on the left side of the scene or stage, there suddenly arose a shout and a loud clapping of hands. It seems that one of them had brought into the theatre a wild bird he had captured, — a nightingale it happened to be. From mischief or accident the bird had escaped from his hand, and for a moment fluttered in terror and amazement over the heads of himself and his companions. Suddenly it darted forward over the orchestra, and settled on the altar as luck had it, — the altar of Dionysus, the centre of festivity and poetic inspiration.

The crowd had watched in silence for a moment the movements of the bird, — the romantic bird of melody. As it alighted so appositely, a wild shout of applause echoed from all sides; some in their enthusiasm rose from their seats, and those at the extreme edge of the theatre learning what was happening, soon caught the contagion of excitement.

Meanwhile the frightened creature, as I could plainly discern, gazing from side to side with quick motion of the head, at last sprang in flight towards the open sky, and soaring higher and higher passed over the topmost moulding of the stage and disappeared. The shouts redoubled, — “The nightingale! the Attic nightingale!”

I did not know what all this meant, as they continued long after the bird had disappeared, still shouting and applauding, while all eyes were strained towards one spot in the audience. Here his friends, smiling and whispering, forced upon his feet a tall and handsome man of mature age. When quiet had been restored, he merely waved his hand and pointed to the stage from which the curtain that hid the back scene was gradually falling.

I could not distinguish the words he said, but I was told that they were those of a well-known proverb — *οιδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον.* “This has nothing to do with Dionysus, is quite out of place at the Dionysian celebration.”

The repartee was received with renewed applause and laughter.

If the speaker were, as I have since thought possible, the author of the play, the representation of which I am about to describe, there may have been a mild and gentle rebuke in what he said. Sophocles might have feared lest his play, on whose unpromising materials he had lavished every resource of his art, might not find his mercurial audience in the mood best fitted to appreciate its solemn and earnest appeal. He may have wished to recall them to a recollection of themselves and of the place where they stood. This impression of mine seems supported by the conduct of the audience, — quick and sensitive as they were to take a point, — for in a moment after, the applause with which the words were greeted died away into dead silence, as if on second thoughts they took for a rebuke what at first only seemed a pleasantry.

The hangings had begun to fall from the scene at the back of the stage just before the remark alluded to had been made.

At the same time a herald, dressed in robes of the Dionysian festival, — a long garment striped in blue and gold and a dazzling belt or girdle, and an upper cloak of purple, — stepped on to the platform or upper dais of the altar, and announced the *Ajax* — a tragedy of Sophocles, the son of Sophilus.

The curtain in falling revealed a scene painted very plainly, but in light colors, on the wall facing the audience. In the centre rose the tent or hut of *Ajax* — close in the foreground ; beyond were other tents and ships and the blue sky. The door of the tent corresponded with the middle door of the stage, through which the principal character of the play always entered. Two other doors, one on each side of this, and, like it, facing the audience, were used by the second and third performers respectively. Hidden by strips of scenery were two more places of entrance on the stage, at each extremity of it. These were used by strangers entering as messengers from abroad, or from the public assembly of the city where the scene of the play lay.

Attention was at once aroused by the disclosure of the scene. This was the tent of *Ajax*, whose name was familiar as a household word to all the Athenian citizens present. They had passed his heroic figure seated on its throne of marble on the Acropolis as they entered the theatre. For my part I felt that the audience were in as keen a mood of expectation as might be the subjects of a Tudor or a Stuart when they saw in the Globe

Theatre the curtain rise on a dungeon in the tower, or on the pavilions at Agincourt or Bosworth Field.

And now the business of the play began. The first scene opened with the entrance of Ulysses, who had heard of the slaughter of the flocks and herds, and had tracked their confused and mingled footprints, freshly impressed on the sands of the shore, to the tent of Ajax; Ajax also had been seen bounding frantically over the plain with a dripping sword in his hand.

A tall figure, raised many inches above human stature, came slowly and as it were reluctantly upon the stage. A mask of large proportions and statuesque features rose high over his shoulders, while a trailing robe hid the thick soles of his cothurnus or buskin. The proportion of the figure was skilfully preserved. The face of Ulysses was turned halfway fronting the audience; the robe that swept the ground and concealed his feet was of saffron; his cloak was purple, clasped with gold so as to leave his right arm bare. In his right hand he bore a staff or sceptre. As he took his stand on one side of the door of the hero's tent he bent his colossal stature towards the ground and extended his arm as if in horror and surprise in reaching the point to which the fatal tracks had brought him. Suddenly he seemed to recoil with fear, as if he suddenly recollected the near presence of his deadly rival.

I was very much struck by the grace with which every posture of the actor was distinguished in all this, as we may call it, dumb show. Equally remarkable was the grandeur of his features. The mask indeed was a marvel of beautiful workmanship. The drapery of his dress fell in folds which could only have been imparted to them by one accustomed to carry in a becoming manner the loose and flowing garments of the ancient world, which it would require consummate tact of motion and adroitness of hand to keep gracefully enveloping the body.

I saw now, too, why the back scenery of the stage was so lightly and faintly delineated, and how admirably the purposes of distinctness were served by the white marble of the proscenium. The figure of the actor stood off in high and clear relief from such a background, with all the sharp outline of a silhouette.

As he stood there in silence, suddenly another figure sailed into view on the upper stage or balcony which I have spoken of. A solemn silence, somewhat akin to awe, seemed to fall upon the audience as they recognised in the spear and shield of the

divine personage the attributes of Athene. And then occurred the famous dialogue which opens the tragedy. The voice of Ulysses rolling over the whole wide area of the auditorium, perfectly audible to every spectator, deep, sonorous, and rhythmical ; that of Athene, piercing, clear, and bell-like ; both voices sounding more than mortal, and conveying the impression of humanity elevated and enlarged — of Divinity, condescending, yet still remote from the feeble race of man.

Athene tells him, in answer to his enquiry, that his suspicions with regard to Ajax are correct : he is the robber and the slaughterer, — within his tent the hero stands, dripping with blood and sweat ; that he had intended to slay his enemies, the Atreidae, but she had flung over him the hallucination under which he had mistaken for them the sheep and oxen. Nay, the goddess will call the raving hero from his tent ; it will gratify Ulysses to see his foe so fallen. To this, however, Ulysses demurs ; he is too fearful of his enemy's fury to desire even to witness it, until Athene promises to render him invisible to the eyes of Ajax.

Then the burly figure of the mighty Ajax appears from the central door. He bears in his hand no heroic sword or mighty spear, but the base thong with which he has been scourging the cattle. His hair is wildly dishevelled, his robe disordered ; he has stripped off the dignified chlamys, or upper cloak, and wears only the long festal robe with a girdle.

Then Athene questions him as to his success, and she who has deluded him into acts of inexpiable self-humiliation calls herself his ally in the accomplishment of a generous revenge. What so pitiable, what so pathetic, as the degradation of the great and good ? Ajax, worshipped on earth as a demigod, stands here humbled to the dust in the eyes of his bitterest foe, and glorying with blind exultation in his very disgrace. With hideous glee he dwells upon every detail of his delusive vengeance, and presents the most vivid, the most saddening picture of

Moody madness laughing wild amid extremest woe.

As he leaves the stage, Athene addresses Ulysses.

“ Ulysses, seest thou how this strong man has been humbled ? ”

“ I do,” is the reply, “ and I pity him, although my foe ; truly all men are but shadows.”

The moral of the awful spectacle of a great mind overthrown, of great courage and manhood perverted and dishonored, is summed up by the goddess in the closing sentences of the dialogue.

"Keep thou from proud words, nor boast thyself for strength or wealth, for the gods love the wise and sober-minded, but hate the proud."

The words rang through the theatre with an effect almost electrical; an effect which must have satisfied the utmost expectations of the great poet. They were received with a deep breath of emotion, almost a sob, and a few moments of dead silence succeeded the disappearance of the actors and the entrance of the chorus.

W. EPIPHANIUS WILSON.

(To be concluded in the next number.)

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MARY AND MARTHA WASHINGTON.

Mary and Martha, the Mother and the Wife of George Washington. By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL. D. New York : Harper & Brothers.

SURELY it is a token for good, when, in the midst of an excited and anxious present, authors and readers are alike found interesting themselves in a receding past that can in no way appeal to any motive of cupidity or selfishness. And this interest is not confined to the public actors upon the historical stage, and incidents of dramatic force, but seems yet more strongly attracted to the hearthstones of our revolutionary sires, hoping there to be admitted to closer intimacy with the women who were their presiding geniuses. If there is one quality more than another which distinguishes the matrons of the Revolution, it is their strict attention to domestic duties ; and yet the very reticacy of their lives awakens but the keener desire on our part to be admitted to the privileges of a circle thus guarded, and gain a nearer insight into virtues and graces whence sprang a civilisation of so remarkable a type as was manifested in the person of our beloved Washington and his noble contemporaries.

Mr. Lossing's book was warmly welcomed and opened with avidity ; for, knowing the author's persevering patience in bringing to light hidden treasures of the past, we had hoped, through his instrumentality, to be somehow brought into living converse with the lovely beings whose names furnished the title-page to his attractive-looking volume. Shall we say regretfully that disappointment awaited such expectations ? If so, it has not been through any fault of the industrious and capable author, but rather through a paucity of material that really admits of little more than an outline sketch of these women's daily lives. Under some circumstances, the repetition of even the dear old story of the Revolution becomes a little tedious,—as, for instance, sit-

ting down, full of curiosity and desire to glean new particulars concerning the dearest partners of Washington's life, then anything foreign to the subject in hand seems impertinent and jejune.

We feel as if we, Mr. Lossing's readers, should have been treated as graduates in the school of Revolutionary history, and admitted directly into the privacy of that delightful home which made the greatest of our public men a being, alas! most rare,—a thoroughly happy domestic character.

Has any one estimated at its true value the influence upon our nation's destiny exerted by the fact that Washington, both as a son and husband, was most blessed?

The whole world admits the powerful impetus given to a man's genius by a mother's training hand; but none the less, when arrived at maturity, does the serene sunshine of domestic bliss exert a benign influence upon his destiny, fitting him for the highest work of which he is capable. For Washington's good wife, as well as noble mother, the whole world should still give thanks.

A literary lady, than whom none has a better right to an opinion, says that all Virginia women have faces of the Martha Washington type. If the likeness extend to the soul, who shall complain of its enduring nature?

If Mr. Lossing brings but little new to our repertory of facts concerning domestic life at Mount Vernon, at least he renews and deepens the impression already happily prevailing, of the pure, womanly, unworldly character of its mistress, and the happiness resultant from the order and system characterising her gentle sway. We feel that every word he says is strictly reliable, and penned by one possessed of a genial, appreciative spirit, fully capable of giving due weight to every virtue, and suppressing even the semblance of a passing prejudice.

Mr. Lossing furnishes the noble example of a Northern man able to appreciate the circumstances and understand the consequent duties devolving upon the Southerner of ante-bellum days. What he has risen superior to may be best shown by reverting to the only remark made by that prominent Quaker, John Joseph Gurney, as he passed Mount Vernon. This gentleman was the brother, too, of so large-souled a person as Mrs. Elizabeth Fry. When the bell tolled, as usual, upon the steamboat's nearing the home of our venerated first President, with a thought-

ful look Mr. Gurney said, "Well, Washington was a good man, if he were a slaveholder." Evidently the Quaker could not refrain from paying unwilling tribute to virtues that he must acknowledge, while he could not comprehend their emanation from such a source.

Mr. Lossing is a large-minded man, and in so far possesses a prime requisite for a faithful and fair historian. There is not one word throughout the whole four hundred pages of his volume that could hurt the feelings of the most sensitive Virginian. The little touch of negro dialect quoted from Mr. G. W. Parke Custis's reminiscences is interesting as a relic of the past, and giving a graphic picture of a most memorable wedding morn.

General Washington's union with Martha Custis was not blessed with offspring, and yet the great man evidently had a tender love for children. He discharged the difficult duties of a step-parent in the most exemplary manner, and thus, from the time of his marriage to the day of his death, by his own choice, Mount Vernon never lacked the gladdening presence of laughter-loving youth. His wife's two children, a boy and a girl, were, the one six, the other four years of age, when they came under his paternal care. A memorandum of the wants of Master and Miss Custis, sent to London to be supplied, two years later, has been preserved. After the entry by her step-papa of a long list of articles suitable for a little lady's wardrobe, comes a particular order for "a small Bible bound in Turkey, and *Martha Parke Custis* wrote on the inside in gilt letters, a small Prayer-Book, neat and in the same manner;" then comes the enumeration of toys, gingerbread, and candies, and, farther on, "One very good spinet (a small harpsichord), to be made by Mr. Plinius, harpsichord maker, in South Audley Street, Grosvenor Square." Here we see the kind stepfather, bestowing an equal care, it would seem, upon the development of mind, soul, and body. The young people seemed to reward his care.

Under such loving guardianship, *Martha Parke Custis* bloomed into young womanhood, and gave ample promise of richly adorning society. Her brunette complexion caused her to be known among the plain people of the neighborhood as "the dark lady," and her slender form became a welcome object to the sick and afflicted, as she would pass from door to door, ministering to

their necessities. Her custom was to ride upon her own pony, unattended save by a single groom.

But in the spring of 1773 this lovely flower began to fade, and ere the summer reached its zenith, consumption had completed its fell work, and the only daughter of Martha Washington lay at the point of death. Colonel Washington was absent at Williamsburg, whither he had gone preparatory to attending Governor Dunmore upon an expedition to the Ohio River. He was summoned home, however, and lost no time in hastening to the bedside of his beloved ward. After his arrival, Martha had only strength to lay her wasted hand in his, give him one look, and smile a farewell.

His grief was profound, and fervent were the supplications he lifted up to the God of Heaven to spare this precious young life. But, even as he prayed, the pure spirit winged its flight to a more congenial clime, and the mourners turned away to comfort one another, and seek that resignation which ever comes from submission to the Divine decrees.

A portrait of this young creature still remains in the family of the deceased artist Rembrandt Peale, to bear witness to her possession of a physical beauty that was a fitting shrine for the sweet disposition which she undoubtedly possessed.

Lady Washington's only son likewise died early, but not before he had married and become the parent of two children, likewise a son and daughter, who, upon the second marriage of their mother, became the adopted children of General and Lady Washington, henceforth making their home at Mount Vernon.

This adopted daughter, Eleanor Parke Custis, or "Nelly Custis," as she is commonly called, was a remarkable character. No pains were spared in her education, and she became a most accomplished musician, besides shining as a linguist, and being remarkably well-read. Her beauty was something phenomenal, and her belle-ship pronounced, although her truthfulness was such that she could in no sense have been a *coquette*.

She was so marked a character and so important a member of Washington's family that I trust the following glowing tribute to her charms cannot fail to possess interest for the reader. This interest is enhanced by the fact that the ardent admirer who penned it was Maria Carter, the daughter of Washington's niece, Betty Lewis, and was brought up until her twelfth year by her grandmother, his only sister. This young lady was her-

self a most beautiful and charming person, the admiration of all who knew her for her wit, amiability, and lively conversational powers, to say nothing of her beauty. She afterwards became the wife of Professor George Tucker, and has many descendants. From her unpublished autobiography, that is all too brief, let us quote what relates to her friend Miss Custis:—

My youth glided away unmarked by any incident worthy of record except the friendship I early formed for Eleanor Parke Custis, the granddaughter of Aunt Washington, and the beloved *protégée* of the General. Mamma, papa, and myself, with Uncle George Lewis and his only daughter Mary, went, the spring my poor grandmother died, to felicitate our illustrious relation on his return to the rural delights of Mount Vernon, as he had just resigned the office of President of the United States. It was upon that occasion that I first beheld the celebrated Miss Custis, whose loveliness of form, mind, and manners I had never seen equalled, and never shall see surpassed. I felt instantaneously devoted to her, and although six years her junior, I had the flattering and delightful conviction that she entertained for me a very lively affection. Two years after this visit she became the wife of my maternal uncle, Lawrence Lewis, a circumstance which at that time made me superlatively happy, and at this date (twenty years since) I recollect it with a thrill of joy. She is still to me a valued and tried friend, though, alas! twelve years have elapsed since we met!

General Washington placed young Lewis and his bride at Woodlawn, a country-seat near Mount Vernon, but much more spacious and imposing in appearance.

Maria Carter adds her testimony to the fact that the virtues of Mary Ball's children were based upon the dictates of a sound religious faith, as taught by the tenets of the Episcopal Church, of which they were all devout members. She writes of her grandmother, Mrs. Lewis:

She was a woman of practical piety, and to her early lessons and admirable example I owe, in a great measure, the deep-seated and ardent devotion to Christianity, which has enabled me to support the many heart-rending trials which the Almighty Disposer of events had allotted me in this world.

The favorite book of Washington's mother, after the Bible, was Sir Matthew Hale's *Contemplations, Moral and Divine*. A copy, inscribed with her name by her own hand, was ever kept, for reference, by her distinguished son, and is still preserved, among other precious memorials of him, at Mount Vernon.

Washington was a vestryman in Pohick Church, and his family were ever most punctual attendants upon Divine service.

There needs no apology for bringing to light the following letter written by Mrs. Colonel Edward Carrington of Richmond, who was a daughter of Jacqueline Ambler of York County. Its naïve style introduces us most pleasantly to the clever writer and the sister, to whom she is evidently united in closest bonds of sympathy, while, in utter unconsciousness of the valuable historical matter that she was supplying, her pen trips lightly along, telling us how the gentry of her day travelled, chatted, dined, and built cities :—

MOUNT VERNON, Nov. 22, 1799.

When near you, my dear Nancy, I have often a great passion to express my feelings in the epistolary way ; how can it be wondered at, then, that now, when more than a hundred miles from you, this propensity should still exist, particularly when seated at a spot of all others best calculated to produce a letter most acceptable to you. We arrived here on the 20th, just time enough for dinner, after a pleasant journey, made more than ordinarily agreeable by a continuation of fine weather, which enabled us to make several pleasant calls on my friends, who are agreeably scattered on the way from Fredericksburg to Alexandria, that is to say, if you take the road up the Potomac. Yes, we arrived at this venerable mansion in perfect safety, where we are experiencing every mark of hospitality and kindness that the good old General's friendship to Colonel Carrington could lead us to expect. His reception of my husband was that of a brother. He took us each by the hand, and with a warmth of expression not to be described pressed mine, and told me that I had conferred a favor, never to be forgotten, in bringing his old friend to see him ; then bidding a servant to call the ladies, entertained us most facetiously till they appeared, — Mrs. Washington, kind and plain, and very much resembling our Aunt Ambler ; Mrs. Stuart, her daughter-in-law (once Mrs. Custis), with her two young daughters, the Misses Stuart, all pleasant and agreeable ; Mrs. Howell Lewis, formerly Miss Pollard of Richmond ; and last, though not least, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis. But how describe her ! Once I had heard my neighbor (Mrs. Tucker*) give a romantic account of her when Miss Custis, — how "her lovely figure made doubly interesting by a light, fanciful summer dress, with a garland of flowers which she had just entwined, and an apron full which she had selected, came in to throw them at her grandmamma's feet," — all which I considered as the fanciful effusions of my friend's romantic turn of mind ; but now, when I see her the matron (for

* *Mrs* Maria Carter.

such her situation makes her appear, tho' she has been only ten months a wife), lovely as Nature could form her, improved in every female accomplishment, and, what is still more interesting, amiable and obliging in every department that makes woman most charming, particularly to her aged grandmother, and the General, whom she always called Grandpapa, I seem actually transported in beholding her. Having once seen her as she passed thro' our town seems to give me a claim to her kindness, and her attentions are unremitting.

On retiring for the night she took me into her apartment, which was elegantly fitted up for an expected event. When we separated she said, "How glad I am that you are here! What a pleasure it will be to me to retain you until after this dreaded event has passed." I assured her nothing could give me more pleasure than to remain and to offer any friendly aid in my power. In this promise I thought that I should be indulged, for on entering the breakfast-room I understood she had been all night complaining, but unfortunately my husband spied the arm-chair carried up-stairs, and a moment after ordered our carriage.

In vain does the General insist upon our stay, promising to take him over the grounds and farm, and showing him the mill, etc., etc., which will occupy him till 3 o'clock. But no! the world could not tempt him to stay at a time when (he said) every one should leave the family entirely undisturbed, but that after a few days, when we should have finished our visit to my friends in Maryland, we would again see them, and prolong our visit. Is it not vexatious to have so scrupulous a husband? Nothing could distress me more than to leave this charming family at such a moment; but I am bound to obey, and at 12 A. M. we are to leave this place for Washington. When I return you may expect to hear farther from me.

Nov. 27th, MT. VERNON.

After passing a week most charmingly with my numerous friends in and about the city, we returned to finish our visit to this revered mansion. Our headquarters while in the city—for I shall have no terms to use but what are military, hearing as I do from these dear old veterans, of battles, fortifications, marches and countermarches, which are familiar as every-day domestic topics to one connected, as I have long been, with soldiers and heroes—were at D. C.'s, the husband of your old friend Anny B—e. Oh, how delightful! after a separation of so many years from the sister of my ever to be remembered Colonel B. . . ., and in that separation to have formed other connections might or might not have been agreeable to that much loved family, to be received by them with *open* arms, and to experience all that tenderness which they were wont to show me while the wife and widow of their brother. I cannot describe to you, my dear Nancy,

the various feelings excited in this long-wished-for visit. This visit of a week would furnish subjects for a series of letters, instead of *one*. I must therefore only tell you that I found myself, while in Washington, in a new world, tho' in the self-same spot where a few years before I felt quite at home. On those very farms, where dwelt my dear old friends the Youngs, the Carrolls, etc., etc., did I see the stately edifices of the Capitol, President's house, etc., etc., all appearing to me like enchantment. But a few years since, when passing an autumn with these dearly loved friends, I saw the first trees felled on their farms. Avenues and streets which I drove thro', intersecting each other, recall recollections of the different places that were as natural to me as my own. They tell me these cover the very ground which I have so often passed in going from one friend's house to another.

It is absolutely magic!

I could not have imagined that the cutting down trees and rearing a few houses (for as yet there are but few in the city) could so totally have metamorphosed this charming spot. It has certainly great advantages in situation, and must be a great city. Still I am of opinion that in point of prospect it must yield to Richmond, which doubtless affords as fine a view as any in the *world*; nevertheless, you know I have never been partial to Richmond, and but for you and some other very dear friends I should be well content to have my residence anywhere else. But it is my destiny to be fixed there, and you may soon expect me at home: perhaps by the last of the month. I having missed the post continue to scribble, and am well pleased that my letter was not ready for the post, as I have much to say and am really delighted that our first visit was shortened here, so that we are at liberty to finish it at a time when our presence is of more consequence to this amiable family than it would have been before.

It is really an enjoyment to be here, and to witness the tranquil happiness that reigns throughout the house, except now and then a little bustle occasioned by the young Squire Custis when he returns from hunting, bringing in a "*valiant deer*," as he terms it, "that Grandpapa and the Colonel will devour." Nice venison, I assure you, it is, and my taste in seasoning the stew is not passed unnoticed, while the whole party, I will not say devour it, but do it ample justice. My mornings are spent charmingly, alternately in the different chambers; first, an hour after breakfast, with the *Lady in the straw*, dressing the pretty little stranger, who is the delight of Grandmamma; then we repair to the old Lady's room, which is precisely on the style of our good old Aunt's, that is, nicely fixed for all sorts of work. On one side sits the chamber-maid with her knitting. On the other, a little colored pet, learning to sew, an old decent woman, with her table and shears, cutting out the negroes' winter clothes, while the good old lady directs

them all, incessantly knitting herself, and pointing out to me several pairs of nice colored stockings and gloves she had just finished, and presenting me with a pair half done, which she begs I will finish and wear for her sake. Her netting, too, is a source of great amusement, and is so neatly done that all the younger members of the family are proud of trimming their dresses with it, and have furnished me with a whole suit, so that I shall appear *à la domestique* at the first party we have, when I get home. It is wonderful, after a life spent as these good people have necessarily spent theirs, to see them in retirement assume domestic manners that prevail in our country; when, but a year since, they were forced to forego all those innocent delights which are so congenial to their years and taste, to sacrifice the parade of the drawing-room and *levée*. The recollection of these "lost days" (as Mrs. Washington calls them) seems to fill her with regret, but the extensive knowledge she has gained in this general intercourse with persons from all parts of the world has made her a most interesting companion, and having a vastly retentive memory, she presents an entire history of half a century.

The weather is too wintry to enjoy out-door scenes, but as far as I can judge in a view from the windows, that little painting which we have seen in my friend Mrs. Hood's drawing-room furnishes a good specimen. Everything within-doors is neat and elegant, but nothing remarkable, except the paintings of different artists which have been sent as specimens of their talents. I think there are five portraits of the General, some done in Europe and some in America, that do honor to the painter. There are other specimens of the fine arts, from various parts of the world, that are admirably executed and furnish pleasant conversation. Besides these is a complete green-house, which at this season is a *vast*, a great source of pleasure. Plants from every part of the world seem to flourish in this neatly furnished apartment, and from the arrangement of the whole I conclude it is managed by a skilful hand, but whose I cannot tell. Neither the General nor Mrs. Washington seem more interested in it than the visitors. We have met with no company here, but are told that scarcely a week passes without some, and often more than is either convenient or agreeable. When transient persons call from curiosity they are treated with civility, but never interfere with the order of the house, or the General's disposition of time, which is as regular as when at the head of the army or in the President's chair. Even friends who make a point of visiting him are left much to themselves, indeed scarcely see him from breakfast to dinner, unless he engages them in a ride, which is very agreeable to him; but from dinner till tea our time is most charmingly spent.

The General was so fascinating, and drew my husband out with so

many old stories relating to several campaigns where they had been much together, and had so many inquiries to make respecting their mutual friends, particularly Kosciusko and Pulaski, who have always corresponded with Col. C., whose characters afford great interest, that it was long after twelve before we separated. By the bye, I shall show you some of those letters, on my return, for I know you will find great pleasure in reading them. At breakfast I feel quite at home, everything is so plain. . . .

The remainder of the letter is missing.

And who can repress a sigh of regret, as the curtain thus suddenly falls and shuts us off forever from this bright picture of the household at Mount Vernon? This regret extends itself to parting with the sweet young matron, whose sisterly confidences have not only been the means of thus admitting us to the coveted privileges of a peep at that home circle, but artlessly reveal the modes of thought and action prevalent among the Virginia women of her day. For, does anything so unerringly indicate character as the unstudied expressions of sentiment contained in a family letter?

Dr. Lossing's dedication of his book to "His young country-women" deserves comment and thanks. It shows that the scholar and patriot of to-day has hope in the young, discerning from "the signs of the times" that, as a people, we need to be reminded of the first principles upon which our republic was founded, if we would wish our future to be as glorious as our past. Truth was the basis of character not only for Washington but for every member of his family. If Mary and Martha Washington remained simple and domestic during the whole of their career, be it not supposed that this was because there was no temptation to be otherwise in those primitive days. On the contrary, we read that in the Revolutionary days lovers of their country dreaded lest the extravagance of the women should bring it to ruin.

Upon one occasion at least Mrs. Washington's plain dress caused her to be mistaken for a servant, and everywhere was regarded as singular.

At a ball in Philadelphia, which may be regarded as typical of others at the same period, a participant wrote: "The collection of ladies was numerous and brilliant, and they were dressed in consummate taste and elegance."

A lady who called to pay her respects to the great man's

wife was put to the blush by seeing her busy fingers ply the knitting-needles, while she and her companions sat idly by, and felt yet further rebuked by the contrast between her simple but neat clothing and the extravagance of their own. Yes, the love of wealth and display, with a disposition to pride and self-indulgence, have reigned in the high places of the earth as far back as the times of King Pharaoh, when Moses had to summon up all his manhood to enable him to turn his back upon "the pleasures of sin," and doubtless the dignified unworldliness of both Washington's mother and wife caused as much surprise in those days, as similar traits would now, in circles of gayety and fashion.

It is devoutly to be hoped, then, that not only the young, but women of every period of life, may be induced to ponder and practise the modest but sturdy virtues so faithfully set forth in this volume. Let mothers look up to God for guidance, and require obedience from their sons, lest they share Eli's curse, — good man that he was, save in that one matter of over-indulgence to wilful sons. No longer let Mr. Thackeray's observation be laughingly recognised as just, when that keen satirist remarked that he had found the United States full of obedient parents. Oh, no! may every father and mother bring up their children "in the nurture and admonition of the *LORD*," and every son and daughter see to it that they model their demeanor to their parents upon that of the "father of his country."

But the story of these two venerated women will have been poorly told indeed, if it bear not its moral upon its face. And the writer cannot conceive of a youth of either sex rising from the perusal of the volume under review, without having had their ideal of womanhood exalted, and without having received the abiding impression that piety, patriotism, and purity were the qualities that Washington's mother transmitted to her great son. Furthermore, does not wisdom add that only in so far as the people of the United States cling to the same principles of action, which they were so fortunate as to have exemplified before them in the very beginning, can they expect a continuance of their pristine glory and prosperity as a nation?

The fact that Washington was a professing and prayerful Christian, a devout communicant, a regular attendant upon Divine service, and for many years a vestryman of Pohick Church, has been too little noted and dwelt upon by the Church.

Prone to man-worship, we have been slow to admit that by Divine grace solely he was what he was. We have been too ready to heap plaudits upon the man, and lose sight of the fact that his great superiority over others really resulted from his utter abnegation of self, and constant ascription of praise to God, upon whose almighty arm he ever leaned in unfaltering trust.

Verily, the Church that nourished in her bosom and gave to the world so perfect a Christian hero, has good cause to exult that God hath thus honored her, and may, with hopefulness, exhort her hosts now militant ardently to grasp a banner thus nobly held aloft in the past, and vow that it shall never be found trailing in the dust through their negligence.

MARY STUART SMITH.

MEXICO AND THE CONSTITUTION.

Statement Respecting our Church Work in Mexico. By the Right Rev. ALFRED LEE, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Delaware.

**Ἐθη δορκαῖα κρατεῖται. — Council of Nice.*

LAST winter, as is generally known, the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society determined on an adverse reply to an application from certain persons residing in Mexico. Soon afterwards a pamphlet appeared, called a *Statement*, from the pen of the President of that Board, reviewing their action and earnestly pleading for a favorable reply. The following article was then written by me, and was withheld for reasons that it is now unnecessary to give. Since then the General Convention has given occasion to the session of the Board of Missions, whose disposition of all matters concerning that country is before the public. The Mexican matter stands at present in just such a position that we may all consider the grounds of difficulty calmly, and this review is offered as a contribution to the consideration. Others may be able to see our way clearly to sound ground. I will yield to none of them in the simplicity of my wish to guard this Church of ours from harm and mistake.

Having read this pamphlet entitled, *A Statement Respecting our Church Work in Mexico since October, 1883*, with that careful attention which it demands as the utterance of one who, as a venerable and faithful Christian man, as a prelate known and honored of all men, as presiding Bishop of the Church, and also as President of the Board of Managers of Missions, Foreign and Domestic, is able to speak to us with authority, I trust that it may not seem strange or disrespectful if I take the opportunity which it affords to express my personal convictions upon the general subject, not merely as related to Mexico, but also to the general principles upon which missionary work should be

conducted. I am to speak for myself only, and not as a member of the Board of Managers. I regret that the writer did not prefer to submit his manuscript to the inspection of the thirty presbyters and laymen of that Board, to say nothing of the visiting Bishops, who are occasionally present at its meetings; or that he did not rather appear in his seat as its presiding officer to listen to facts, communications, and discussions upon its subject matter, before giving his thoughts to the public. In my judgment, there are some expressions in the pamphlet which would have been modified, and some facts which might have been added to help the lovers of missions in forming a sound judgment of their duty in the premises. This regret does not imply any reserve of adverse criticism as to his motives, in leaving the Board of Managers to hear from him through the press. He has done what he thought best. It is not for me to say that it is not best, especially when I use the occasion to put before the Church my own opinions on an important subject. I beg leave to quote as pertinent to my purpose the following passage of the *Statement*, which is to be found on page 12. In it with charitable caution he really brings the Board of Managers before the Church at large for its examination.

So that after this long period of suspense, and the pains taken to meet all the expressed wishes of the Board of Managers, after their unreserved surrender of the work into the hands of our authorities, then comes a decided rejection. The Board declines to have anything to do with the struggling Church which has offered to put itself entirely under the control and direction of the Managers. In this connection let it be borne in mind that a covenant was entered into between this Church and the Protestant Episcopal Church* in the United States, in which the latter pledged its "nursing care" to the former "during its early growth and development, and until the said Mexican Church shall attain to a sufficiency in its Episcopate for the administration of its own affairs, according to the requirements of the ancient canons and the primitive usages of the Church of CHRIST."

A footnote refers the reader to the *Journal of the General Convention of 1880*, page 179, where we find a covenant was made by a Commission of Bishops and Dr. Riley, who was then a presbyter of this Church, purporting to be done under Article X. of the Constitution.

* The covenant itself says, "We the Bishops," and does not use the words "Protestant Episcopal Church" as the party of the first part.

If I were authorised to speak for the Board of Managers, whose action is here described, with intentional delicacy and forbearance, I should at once traverse some of the statements which are here made. Every reader must find himself putting that Body on trial in his own mind. (1.) For allowing a decided rejection after a long period of suspense, when the other party has fulfilled all its conditions. (2.) For refusing to help a struggling Church, so willing and so eager to submit itself to the direction of the Board. (3.) For violation of an expressed contract pledged in terms that suffer no diminution or doubt. But the Board of Managers may answer for themselves. There are thirty gentlemen in it, often greatly aided by Bishops who have been present at their meetings, who have all been engaged on this matter now for years, and they have at last, as is implied above, given it a decided rejection. If they are right, the reader must recognise that it would have been well for the writer to have had their reasons before him, in order to compare them with the above indictment. If they are wrong, the Church will know how to mete out to them what they have measured to others. *Sic fiat.*

With them I am not now concerned. They will know their duty, and take their own way and time to state any facts which have led to their action. Without using any material of, or making any plea for, the Board's records, the duty seems plain to state my own conviction that the Board has never acted more wisely in regard to the Mexican matter than when it decided to cease from trying to bring order out of chaos.

As I look at the history of missionary efforts in this Church, there were two great lines of thought, teaching, and duty which prevailed in it for many years. (1.) The duty of Foreign Missions to the heathen peoples of the earth, who have never heard of CHRIST; as expressed by Bishop Heber some eighty years ago :—

*Shall we to men benighted,
The lamp of light deny?*

Or as it was sung again by Mrs. Alexander, some thirty years since :—

*Souls in heathen darkness lying,
Where no light has broken through;*

• • • • •

Let no brother's bitter chidings
 Rise against us when we stand
 In the judgment,
*From some far, forgotten land.**

(2.) The other section of Christian work has been called Domestic Missions, but it is really Church Extension, and is worded in the Hymnal, over hymn 293, *For Missions to the new Settlements of the United States.* It was under this notion of dual work that the General Convention in 1835 uttered its watchword, "the field, the world, the two departments to be lined out by the boundaries of our country."

I shall come at the proper time of the argument to a third department of help to decayed Churches, and I intend to maintain the proposition, that we have been drifting away from the great principles of Church law and order since the time when we sent Dr. Hill to Athens and Bishop Southgate and his assistants to Constantinople; not to create a rival Church in those places and bring it into covenant with this American Church, but to abstain from all intrusion into existing Churches, to forbear rearing altar against altar, and to ignore any committal of their Church to the principle, false to all Canon law and sound Church principle, that a weak, corrupt, and decayed Church is a proper missionary ground, where we may defy the authorities established for centuries, and begin something that can claim as its *raison d'être* that no canons of the past apply there and no real Gospel has been already preached there. There has been a *drift*, to my mind a sad drift, which has been frowned on by the providence that we can trace in the progress of events. The time has come, when the real question of any practical importance now is just this,—Is it wise or unwise for the Board of Managers to commit the Church again to this drift and to certain disaster, or to leave the Mexican work to a voluntary association, whose actions amount only to the decisions of unauthorised individuals? I am disposed myself to believe that this Church of ours has been *drifting*, sadly drifting, away from sound Church law and order. She has listened to the voice of the charmer which has charmed never so wisely, and I am by no means sorry that the venerated head of the Board of Managers has given occasion to the consideration of certain issues, of far greater importance to our own welfare in sound doctrine

* *Hymnal*, 283 and 292, and *passim*.

and practice, than any success springing out of what some one has called lightly "the Mexican Muddle."

One issue arises as to the law and practice of the Catholic Church on the matter of intrusion and rival altars. Far be it from me to attempt to compass this theme. My purpose is rather to suggest it, as necessarily entering into the decision of the Mexican question. If the Board of Managers assume now the control of that Church, so eager to come under their jurisdiction, but which has not given reliable information on material points, they commit this Church to principles that are very dangerous. The Board of Managers is the creation of the canon which defines its powers. It represents the Board of Missions in the intervals between the meetings of the General Convention. As now arranged, the latter body is the General Convention, sitting in another form, and it speaks, under the limit of the canon, for the Church. If the American Church Missionary Society or any voluntary association adopts that mission, they do it on their sole responsibility, and they leave this Church free. I do not say that it is well for them to do it, for I am not a member of any such voluntary association. They who engage in this work will stand or fall as individuals to their own consciences and best judgment. But the Church, if she adopts it, must commit herself and all her members to the decisions which few Canonists can approve, and which very many of her priests and people will conscientiously repudiate. One of these decisions will be that the Catholic Church in Mexico is not a Church, and has no rights that a Protestant is bound to respect. She decides again, if she chooses to leave this prime question in doubt, and to go on in this course, that it is right to make a Church within a Church, to send a Bishop to assume some sort of nondescript alien jurisdiction, into a nation where a Church has held the ground for centuries, and which, in any revolution of that most revolutionary country and race, will again quietly resume her jurisdiction. We have cited to us on page fourteen the example of the "Spanish, Portuguese, and Mexican Church Aid Society, which," the Bishop says, "is helping forward a very important and promising work of *reform and evangelisation in Spain and Portugal.*" Are the cases parallel? Have the Archbishops of Canterbury and York yet summoned their Convocations, and, without an act of Parliament or a decision of the Privy Council, organised a national Church,

and sent Bishops to Spain and Portugal from their own Presbyters, and made eleemosynary covenants with them? Could they do so, after the full tide of authorities against ecclesiastical *intrusions* that has marked the history of the English Church ever since the twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth? and after the abundant protest against the same sin, which the appointment of Romish Bishops to Westminster and other sees has occasioned within our own time? Does any one believe that such a thing is possible?

Again, we hear vague suggestions of a parallel somewhere between the acts of the English Church in giving us the Episcopate after the American Revolution, and our sending Bishops from our own body to other nations.*

It vanishes on examination. The Bishops of England were right in refusing to act at all in our case, till the Parliament and Throne had determined the mode of action. Nations are integers, and have duties as such the one to the other. The same is true of Churches. Whatever power Bishops receive from the Apostles, surely they have not received a commission as yet recognised to "build on another man's foundation." Canon after canon from the beginning declares for the unimpeachable integrity of a *National Church*. The Bishops as a separate order are not constituted the treaty-making power of this Church. The English Prelates understood their true position, when a Church in a nation which had become independent asked for the spiritual gift of the Episcopate. They delayed action until they were fully assured by eminent statesmen that an application for Bishops was "not likely to receive any discountenance from the civil powers," † in a country where Church and State were each independent in its own sphere. They asked of us not authoritative covenants, but the honorable pledges of equals, that we would not misuse their donation.

* Dr. Palmer's view may be the extreme of logic, but he indicates the more plainly an immanent feeling of the English mind, from the time of Reformation, "when certain individuals, in obedience to the exhortations of Papal emissaries, or to the direction of Roman Pontiffs, separated themselves from the communion of the Catholic Church in their country (England), when they established rival altars, a rival priesthood, and endeavored to withdraw the faithful from obedience to their legitimate pastors, then it is plain that such men were guilty of schism." . . . "When America received Bishops from our Churches, the Schismatics (Romanists) constituted a rival Episcopacy, and so remain to this day separated from the true Church." Treat. 22, p. 236.

† See Bishop White's *Memoirs of the Church*, p. 297; comp. pp. 24 and 325-332.

Some one will object, that they delayed action because of the law, which required the oath of allegiance to the English Government. This was only a part of the reason. It was also true that they hesitated very largely because of the prevalent opinions of the Church of England, as to the position of this nation and this Church. When they gave us the Episcopate, I doubt if they believed or realised that a *Parochia* or Diocese without coercive jurisdiction in territorial limits was possible. A thoughtful examination of their desire for statements from the civil authorities during their delay will show that certain important principles guided them, which any student of Canon law will easily discover. An incident occurring about that time is *apropos*. When the Hon. W. Wilberforce added as a rider to a bill proposed in the House of Commons to renew the charter of the East India Company an order that chaplains should be sent to the English residences in India, the amendment was defeated in the House of Lords by the aid of a majority of the Bench of Bishops. The Bishop of Durham voiced the opposition by the statement that "one nation had no right to interfere with the religion of another nation." We conclude now that he was wrong in that case, but it was only an ancient principle of non-intrusion, which has been certainly established in European Christendom, pushed to excess. Surely we may conclude that such men did not imagine themselves authorised by their office, by Scripture, or by ancient canons and primitive usages, to assume the autocratic *pose* of a treaty-making power. In England the sovereign power is limited, the moment financial questions arise, by the required consent of the House of Commons. They entered into no treaty of nursing care of us. They did not complicate their position by any questions of duplex jurisdiction. Fancy the Archbishop of Canterbury after a few years calling on Bishop White to annul what had been done and pledge himself never to preach or act in the State of Pennsylvania again! Is it replied the cases are not parallel? I answer willingly, Amen, by no means parallel. The principles of Church law are unchanging. Let no one put us off, then, with any allusions to the former event, as a precedent for what has now been done in Mexico. The former was justified by Catholic usage. The latter marks the *drift* away from such usage. By the late action of the Board of Managers (and I am not in any sense speaking for them, or meaning to imply that any one

of them agrees with me, or has been influenced by these opinions) the opportunity is offered now to traverse this ground again unimpeded, and to declare whether it is right, according to ancient law and usage, to send a bishop of one nation to another nation in its time of misrule and disaster, and so far as it can, not build up the waste places, but overrun them, and to establish a "Protestant Episcopal Catholic (save the mark!) Church" in the country of a race which has been Catholic (as they claim) to excess for many ages, and whose hereditary literature, history, arts, manners, and morals are utterly and diametrically opposed and essentially hostile, both to our Protestantism and our American assumptions. If there is one thing on earth that an average Mexican hates more than anything else, it is an American Protestant.*

Just here I refer to the singular fact, which is notorious, that now for many years efforts have been made to learn what is the liturgy of the "Church of JESUS," or how they administer the sacraments, or what prayers they use, or what ideas they have of public worship, and I have asked the question of all who could be supposed to know, and it is still a mystery.† It may be uncharitable, and yet I am forced to one conclusion that seems to be the suggestion of ordinary sense, that there is some sufficient reason in their minds for refusing so reasonable a demand. I shall be glad to learn that it is not because these people, whatever liturgy they have been using, were determined not to use *ours*, and have been too courteous to tell us so.

The matter of time deserves notice in reviewing these events.

* Mexico is dreamland to most men. If one wishes to reach the notion of the average Mexican, it may be useful to read carefully the articles lately published in the *Popular Science Monthly* from the pen of Mr. David A. Wells of Connecticut.

† It is proper here to quote from Bishop Lee's official letter to Bishop Riley, of July 10, 1880: "With your own course there is great dissatisfaction, especially in the following particulars: —

"(1.) Apparent want of open and ingenuous dealing in regard to the Liturgy. We have seen such statements as would seem to indicate that, while professing to be desirous of presenting a Liturgy that would be satisfactory, you were actually hindering its completion; also, that such Offices as were approved by the Commission had not been put in use." See *Journal General Convention*, 1880, p. 455. He has stated the case in very gentle, cautious language, and still it amounts to a charge of dishonorable conduct in the ears of common people, which no man should rest under for a day, who did not know well that the reasons for publishing the facts are such as may not bear the light. Yet for three years more the same confusion and ignorance continues. Why is it? It would need but a single mail to put us at rest, as to what liturgy is in actual use in the Valley of Mexico on any given Sunday. Why is this "want of open and ingenuous dealing"?

It appears that on October 29, 1875, "a covenant, or articles of agreement, concord and union," was entered into between the Bishops and the Mexican Branch, etc. (See *Journal*, 1880, p. 176.) Dr. Riley was consecrated on June 24, 1879, at Pittsburgh. Information was officially sent to the House of Deputies on their demand on October 27, 1880. During the four years which passed between the dates of the covenant and the act of consecration, there was surely abundance of time to have obtained full information concerning the liturgic usages of the Church of JESUS. It may be suggestive to compare with this rapid legislation the proceedings of the Roman curia, in sending a Bishop to England. *Fas est ab hoste doceri.*

The Pope was, on the whole, too modest or too wary to go against all prescript, by sending a title that implied coercive jurisdiction in another nation, and assuming direct control, until forty years had passed after the suppression of papal usurpation in England. In 1570 the Jesuits began to make a show of schism, and in 1598 Blackwell was appointed *Arch-Priest* of the English Romanists. This state of things continued till 1623, when Dr. Bishop was ordained titular Bishop of Chalcedon (*in partibus infidelium*), and his successor, Dr. Smith, was banished in 1628, since which time there were no more Bishops sent to England till the reign of James II. It was the influence of Spanish Jesuits that induced these acts. [See Dr. Hook's *Church Dict.*, art. *Church of Rome*, p. 119.]

We, on the other hand, consecrated a Bishop of the Valley of Mexico directly and squarely, and entered into a covenant to sustain him, and we are now asked to ignore him. Who gave him jurisdiction? We did not. It was not ours to give. Therefore we cannot take it away from him. This, of course, involves the absurdity that he is a Bishop, and has something of jurisdiction which others gave him, who had little power to give it; but such as it is, he has it, until the "Church of JESUS" in Mexico displaces him. How can it do so, *Quien sabe?*

Pardon me, if in my ignorance I say, if there is a Bishop most out of place on this sin-laden globe, it is the man who went through, without mental reserve, the solemn office of consecration of the Book of Common Prayer, and promised before the LORD to "diligently exercise such discipline as by the authority of God's Word and by the order of this Church was committed to him," in and for the Valley of Mexico, and has since promised

to be silent and exercise no function in that respect. By this pledge he did not resign to the Commission of American Bishops anything except what they gave him. They did not give him jurisdiction, for they did not have it to give. Orders we often hear are indelible. There is a higher voice, that bids each one "pay thy vows unto the *LORD*." He is—as I must claim by all teaching that I have heard as yet—Bishop of the Valley of Mexico, and, as is seen on pages 7 and 9 of the *Statement*, "three presbyters and two lay readers representing the two Dioceses of the capital and the Valley of Mexico," that is, say, of the latter Diocese, two presbyters and one layman (whom does he represent?) at the most, *without their Bishop*, and with no allusion to him, as worth noticing or consulting, now profess to make official propositions to us to submit the jurisdiction of the capital and the Valley of Mexico to the Protestant Episcopal Church in this land as a subordinate mission under our canons. Have they deposed him and resumed that Diocese? Under what law? A rumor in the air tells us that there are other presbyters and other laymen there, who call themselves members of the "Church of *JESUS*," who do not join in any such proposition, and who are loyal to the Bishop after a fashion. Suppose that we now take the Valley of Mexico under our care, and make it subject to the canons of Missionary Bishops (which Canons I propose to prove give us the only proper explication of Article X. of the Constitution, and which marks any other modes as erroneous), and suppose that we send another Bishop there whose consecration, as a Missionary Bishop of this Church, will be honored by the vote of election of either the House of Deputies or the Standing Committees, and we reduce the present dark confusion to a show of order. Where shall we be then? We have sent Dr. Riley to ignore the previous authorities of a national Church, and now we will send another man to ignore him. Grant that he violated the treaty, and we recalled it, and he consented to the recall, so that we as a Church are measurably free from him. The covenant and the commission are *nil*. But we did not subject him to trial and deposition. He had consented to have his tongue silenced and his hands tied, so far as the Valley of Mexico goes, but he is Bishop still, and with all the jurisdiction that he ever had from us. Are we wise to rush on before knowing just how we are going to involve our Church in a complication, from which Van Espen

or Gibson could not extricate us, nor Talleyrand, prince of intruding prelates, help us by his *finesse*?

Some one may say that these considerations are all the false wisdom of this world, and that it is an awful thing to hinder the "foolishness of preaching" in a Roman Catholic country, or to undervalue the blessing of keeping up a foreign orphanage; but I shall trust the case to the calm reason of Churchmen, who believe that there is such a thing as law and Catholic usage, which has its origin in the Scriptures and sound principle, and which is to be regarded by us as the lamp of experience in these great national questions. No apparent advantages can make up for the sacrifice of principle. It is not we who are converting the world; emphatically not we who are converting Mexico. In all our plans and works, if there is not law, permanent and defensible, then there are *drift*, expedients, novelties, sensations, bursts of zeal, and flashes of enthusiasm that may sweep before them the reason and understanding of common people, but they are of short duration. The trees which our heavenly Father planted may grow slowly, may have periods of pause and decadence, but they grow. With so much of pagan ground "in darkness lying," it seems to me that we can afford to withdraw properly from this third department of missionary intrusive labor, and build diligently our own waste places, or carry the everlasting Gospel into the darkened parts of the world. The assertion will be made that we are already engulfed in this matter, and that we may not retreat from it. I deplore it, and have deplored it for some years. What put us there? Drift. At this juncture let us pause awhile and consider.

There are people in the Church who believe that the Roman Church is utterly apostate; that she is the Beast, Dragon, Scarlet Woman, and the Anti-Christ. They regard her as the Upas-tree that kills out all spiritual life and breath. Let such attack her in Mexico and spare not. There are also persons in this Church to whom the thought of her errors and corruptions, her blunders over the most necessary matters, are a burden and a weariness,—persons who feel no temptation or capacity or attraction to her or to them, but who yet admit that she is a national Church, and as such a genuine branch in Mexico of the one Vine. Such would be much helped, possibly, if they would read that the Master bade the other six Churches of Asia to

send Bishops to Laodicea and spread their altars about her streets ; but finding as they do that he did not so write, but that the venerable authorities of all the ages — especially of those ages of sound thought in the English Church since the Reformation — unite in a different prescription concerning missionary works, and require national obligations to be honored in the processes of evangelisation, they are forced to the conclusion, not that division and heart-burnings will follow the surrender of this anomalous arrangement, and leaving it to individuals as their voluntary work, but that it will and must always be an uphill work all the time (as it has been), if it is to be pursued by committing this Church to the denial of principles which they have been taught to believe are of the nature of fundamentals. One of these principles is that the Church of Rome is not corrupted to the extent of invalidating a just claim to be treated as a true Church. Few who know me will imagine that I have any special tendency to submit to her tyranny, or, if they do, I must accept the cross of unjust suspicions. At least, let it give me the benefit of speaking what I conceive to be true. Let me introduce this portion of the subject with a passage of the *Statement*. On page 13 it says, with usual and admirable moderation : "The religion that has taken possession of those lands is nominal Christianity, actual Mariolatry. The most general and sincere worship is addressed to the Queen of Heaven.* But the influence of Rome is on the wane. The Bible is penetrating into those regions so long oppressed with ignorance and superstition, and the entrance of God's Word giveth light." For this I am devoutly inclined to return thanks. When the Bishop proceeds to state the fact that Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries have gathered large congregations and built churches and schools, I none the less rejoice, though I am obliged to add to his remarks that their success is largely due to their methods, which ignore in their teachings the truth that there is one Holy Catholic Church throughout the world, and so in Mexico, which imposes the restraints of ecclesiastical law and amity, which this Church professes to accept.†

* This selection of the item of Mariolatry, or worship to the Queen of Heaven, is apparently charitable. The Homily against Peril of Idolatry, part iii., speaks in rougher terms of an "Idolatrous Church," "a foul, filthy, old, withered harlot, for she is indeed of ancient years."

† There are two distinct methods of work in such a case as that of Mexico. (1.) The aim at individual conversions "out of darkness into marvellous light," which ignores

Our late deeds in casting off those restraints have not been marked by universal and hearty acceptance among ourselves, and have on the whole led us into extraordinary complications. The denominations have been free to preach under what I sincerely believe to be defective organisations, and they do not hesitate to enter any fold on earth, and willingly make converts in our own body. Partial success does not demonstrate that they are using legitimate processes. I admit that, *quoad* missionary operations, the Church of Rome is to be treated as a branch of the true Church of CHRIST. I will therefore insert a few authorities, which will suffice to show that this opinion is no novelty.

First, the XIX. Article of religion implies it, and its history proves it:—

The visible Church of CHRIST is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of GOD is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered, according to CHRIST's ordinance, in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.*

The language of Article XIX., above quoted, was drawn from the Augsburg Confession, which reads: "A congregation of all questions of Church law or obligation. In this, Presbyterians and Methodists excel. They have always been practising it. (2.) The other is indicated in these two statements of S. Cyprian and Origen: 'The LORD himself admonishes and teaches us in this Gospel, saying, 'and there shall be one flock and one shepherd,' and does any one imagine that there can be *in one place* many shepherds or many flocks? The Apostle Paul, recommending the same writing to us, beseeches and exhorts, saying, 'I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no division among you, but be agreed in the same mind and the same judgment.'"*(De Unitate.* See Palmer, p. 49.) So Origen: "We should not listen to those who say, 'Lo! here is CHRIST,' but do not show Him in the Church, which is full of his shining from East to West; which is full of the true light, and is the pillar and ground of the Truth, in which as a whole (*in qua tota totus est Adventus*) is the complete Advent of the Son of Man, saying to all everywhere scattered abroad, 'Lo! I am with you always to the end of the world.'"*(In Matt.* See *Ibid.*, p. 24.) Truth, not time, is the gauge of successful missionary work, with such men.

* Latin: *In his etiam que credenda sunt.* This limits the English words *matters of faith*. The Church of Rome accepts the three Creeds. "The Reformers, in their strong opposition to Romanist errors, often use the most severe terms in denouncing them. But in their most sober and guarded language, not only our own, but Luther, Calvin, and other Continental reformers, speak of the Church of Rome as a Church, though a fallen and corrupt Church." Browne on the *Articles*, Art. XIX. p. 464.

Saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered."

Notice that I am not aiming at a dogmatical question on the abstract side of it. But rather at a practical one, on the ecclesiastical ground only. A Church may greatly err and remain a Church still. The practical side is how we are to enter its acknowledged boundaries, and how we are to treat its authorities. How that should be, I shall call up in noticing the documents that came before us under Article X. of the Constitution. In the matter of *intrusion* we may find that the subject is one that cuts both ways.

"The pure word of God" is equivalent to the preaching of the *fundamentals* of the Faith. The "due administration of the Sacraments in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same" points to *defects* rather than to additions. The Church of Rome has not rejected the Creeds. We do not venture to repeat her baptisms or ordinations.

First, let us hear from the "judicious" Hooker [*Eccl. Pol.* iii. 1. 10]. "In the Church of CHRIST we" (that is, he means we English people) "were (that is, before the Reformation; Bishop Harold Browne) and we are so still. *Our difference between our estate before and now, we know none*, but only such as we see in Judah; which having some time been idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly religious, by renouncing idolatry and superstition. The indifference of the Church of Rome to reforming herself must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform our duty. Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloved of God [*Romans xi. 28*]; in like sort with Rome, we dare not communicate touching her grievous abominations, yet, touching those main parts of Christian truths wherein they constantly still persist, *we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Christ.*"

Again; in "Rome," said Luther, "though worse than Sodom and Gomorrah, there is still Baptism and the Sacrament, the Gospel, the Scripture, the ministry, the names of CHRIST and God, therefore the Church of Rome is holy." [See Bishop Browne on *Art. XIX.* p. 464.] Bishop Browne, whose work is

of repute, will close the list, or else I should wrong the reader. "This," the language of Hooker, he says, "is not the language of one great man; but most consistent with it have been the sentiments of almost all those eminent writers of our Church, who are known and reverenced as the great types of Anglican piety, learning, and charity. It is earnestly to be desired that there should be no relaxation of our protest against error and corruption, but the force of the protest can never be increased by uncharitableness and exaggeration. Let Rome throw off her error and corruptions, and we will gladly communicate with her; but so long as she retains her errors, we cannot but stand aloof, lest we should be partakers of her sins.* [Ibid. p. 497.]

No one will doubt that there are many clergymen of each order in our American Church, however they may see fit to vary or soften the language of these former divines, who will heartily assent to the following proposition of Dr. Palmer: † "Therefore whatever can be done by writings and conferences, managed without acerbity, may lawfully be resorted to. But it seems inconsistent with the principles of Catholic unity for any branch of the Church to send missionaries with the view to raise *rival* worship, and seek for converts in the bosom of another."

These authorities suffice to show the position which many Churchmen in this land hold as to the Church in Mexico. That there is a revolutionary and an infidel spirit in that country, which is hostile to the hierarchy, and to any settled government, which has brought on a period of disorder and distress among them, is acknowledged, yea, may be accepted as largely due to the errors and corruptions of the past ecclesiastical government. But few will question that, in the main, the great majority of the thoughtful Mexicans are loyal to their past, and are immovably fixed in their prejudices against Protestantism. I trust that I show no disrespect to converts of many sorts, if I say that it pains me to see how a Church like our own can consent to drift

* "Archbishop Laud, in his controversy with the Jesuits, says, 'I granted the Roman Church to be a true Church; for so much learned Protestants have acknowledged before me, and the truth cannot deny it. He refers to Hooker, Junius, Reynolds, and even the Separatist Johnson.' Bramhall, Andrewes, Chillingworth, Tillotson, Burnett, might also be cited in acknowledgment that the Roman is still a portion of the Catholic Church, though it comprise within its communion much error and idolatry." Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*, p. 218.

† *Treatise on the Church*, vol. 1, p. 243.

away from her position, held calmly and consistently to the second half of this century, and can now engage in plans of missionary work which look rather to the uprooting of old landmarks, than to conciliating the great bodies to which she should direct her attention.

We have proceeded on quite other plans with the Russian and other Oriental Bishops, as will appear in another place. A strong case might be made out against many of them, but we have refused generally to look beyond those "things that make for peace, and things whereby one may edify another." Russia, on the other hand, has illustrated before our eyes here in New York what it seems to me that all other men must see us to be doing elsewhere. She sent a Priest hither who carried on the service of the Greek Church before us. For a while it was interesting to curious persons to attend his services, and to learn the methods of that venerable Church which claims primeval and unvaried usages. But was that the ideal of a true mission work? It was a situation so unnatural, that the Russian Priest soon gave it up and sought a congenial home among the Presbyterians. It is sad to be forced to say, that by the unhappy drift of this Church, the abnormal position of Father Bjerring in New York seems to be fast becoming the idea of common minds as to what a missionary is, not only in Christianised countries, but in pagan lands as well. Private individuals or voluntary associations may give way to zeal, without the restraints of ecclesiastical usages and international amity, but it seems to me that a great Church, which values its own claim to Catholicity, cannot do so without the surrender of such claim, and a patent acknowledgment to the world that she disregards all suggestions of the ancient canons. None of us probably pretend to observe the *letter* of the ancient canons, for with the passage of time and the changes of condition, the letter has often become obsolete, but surely the spirit which has been continuous in them and which has passed into the constant usage of the Churches, even down to our time, — as in this particular I propose to show that it has done with us, — is not to be lightly disregarded. We do not stand in prayer "on the LORD's day and in the days of Pentecost," as it seemed good to the Council of Nicea to order that all should do, by the prescript of Canon XX.,* but the reasons for the change are not

* Hefele, *History of Christian Councils*, p. 434.

far to seek. May I venture to claim that the spirit of the three following citations is still binding on us, even when a Roman Catholic country is concerned?

The XXXV. Apostolical Canon is as follows:—

Let no Bishop presume (*ταλμᾶν*, dare) to hold ordinations (*χειροτονίαν*, consecrations) beyond his own boundaries in cities or districts not within his jurisdiction; and if he should be convicted of having done this without the consent of the Bishops having jurisdiction in such cities or districts, both he and those whom he has ordained shall be deposed.

It may be claimed that this should be confined to the Dioceses of a separate nation — which is not true; but granting it for the once, Canon XXXIII. rules, — “Let no Bishop, Presbyter, nor Deacon be received *from abroad* without commendatory letters, and even when they bring these, let them be examined, and if they be teachers of godliness let them be received,” etc.; and Canon XXXIV., which has its echo again and again in the councils of the Church, provides for the proper demarcation of the national Churches.*

The great Council of Nice, which gave us mainly the Creed, has this same rule as Canon XV.: “On account of the great disturbances and discords that occur, it is decreed that the custom prevailing in some places contrary to the (Apostolical) Canons must by all means be done away; so that neither Bishop, Presbyter, nor Deacon shall pass from city to city. And if any one, after this decree of the Holy and Great Synod, shall attempt any such thing, or continue in any such course, his proceedings shall be utterly void, and he shall be restored to the Church in which he was ordained Bishop or Presbyter.” [See *Ibid.* p. 129, and *Hefele*, p. 422.]

The Council of Constantinople met certain difficulties of its time with Canon II.:—

“The Bishops of a Diocese are not to invade Churches lying outside of their bounds, nor bring confusion on the Churches; but let the Bishop of Alexandria, according to the Canons, administer the affairs of Egypt; and let the Bishops of the East manage the East only,” etc., etc. “And the aforesaid Canon concerning Dioceses being observed, it is evident that the Synod of every Province will administer the affairs of that particular

* See *Index Canonum*, Dr. J. Fulton, p. 91.

Province, as was decreed at Nice. But the Churches of heathen nations must be governed according to the custom which has prevailed among their forefathers." [Ibid. p. 141.] Two remarks are proper. (1.) That the growth of heresies and the disorder of disaffected Churches had become of sufficient importance in A. D. 381, the date of their last Canon, to raise the question of how the Orthodox Churches should deal with those which were in error.* If the fathers of Constantinople had decreed that Bishops could be consecrated in order to promote unity by rearing altar against altar, they would have done so. (2.) We find that in the case of heathen countries they were somehow more careful of the "customs which had prevailed among their forefathers," than we are, and their own canons being observed, they were tender of the prejudices of their converts from heathenism. In this they followed the example of the first assembly in Jerusalem. [Acts xv. 29.]

CHARLES H. HALL.

* *Exceptio probat regulam*, and in this matter illustrates it. Athanasius, Eusebius of Samosata, and others, broke through the established usage, under the plea of "pressing necessity." See Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, Book II, ch. v. sec. 3.

[To be continued.]

MARRIAGE BETWEEN AFFINES.

1. *God's Law of Marriage.* By WILLIAM CROSSWELL DOANE, Bishop of Albany. 1880.
2. *Majority Report to the General Convention of 1880 by the Joint Committee on Marriage and Divorce.*
3. *Report to the General Convention of 1886 by the Joint Committee on Marriage and Divorce.*

IN this country, Levitical laws have generally been regarded as *per se* obsolete, and those reaffirmed in the New Testament as depending upon that for their authority ; and it is thence probable that but few here have given more than casual attention to the laws of *Leviticus xviii.*, on which the ninety-ninth Canon of the Church of England is professedly based. But the pamphlet, and the General Convention proceedings, which head this article, indicate that a zealous party in the Church is persistently urging a like Canon here, and confidently appeals to *Leviticus xviii.* as "God's law of marriage," and as forbidding marriage within the forty affinitous degrees of the English Table ; and, therefore, the laws of that chapter must not longer be ignored as surely extinct, or be shunned as too coarse for Christian circles, but should enlist such studious attention and public discussion as may be needful for ensuring a right settlement of the questions thus raised.

To analyse those statutory laws as I would like to, may seem to many readers, whose candid attention is earnestly desired, a task which belongs only to clerics, because, forsooth, the laws are Biblical. But it cannot be amiss for me merely to suggest some pertinent questions about them, — questions, too, which every upholder of those old laws as restricting one or another affinitous marriage ought seriously to consider, before lending his support toward a Canon that shall rank any such marriage with the "abominations" of the Canaanites which so "defiled" their land, and though legalised by "civil legislatures," said to

be "tampering perpetually with the laws of marriage and divorce in the interest of self-willed and licentious people," would fain brand all parties to such marriage as infamous, their homes as brothels, and their children as "bastards." Accordingly, some such questions will now be ventured.

I. Assuming that *Leviticus* xviii. was more than Mosaic (as CHRIST characterised other Levitical laws of marriage and divorce), and was dictated by God ; and that its laws were moral, in the sense of relating to moral subjects ; were they also "a part of the moral law," in the sense of announcing broad moral precepts, which, being changeless and Divine, became authoritative to all ages ? Were they not rather an integral part of a Levitical Code, which perished with Hebrew nationality, and was superseded by Gospel laws ? And is there another instance where that Code is resorted to for supplementing those comprehensive laws ? And how is this chapter certified to Christendom as thus exceptional, abiding, and authoritative ? Can it be by its subjects, as supposedly moral ? And would not that test equally include other laws, which all agree are extinct, *ex gr.* all about marriage and divorce ?* And would not that test also deny the very authority it would establish, by setting above the laws a standard of morality for accepting one as moral and authoritative, and rejecting another as national and extinct ? And do not the advocates of the moral-law theory play fast and loose with it, by crediting the features they like as abiding, and rejecting the polygamous features as extinct ? Or if any stand by their theory, must they not accept polygamy as sanctioned for the world's ages by an eternal "moral law," and an unchanging God ?

II. Supposing, also, for the present, that the laws related to marriage ; can they include unspecified cases otherwise than on the theory, that they formed an exhaustive marriage-code which implied a sanction of unforbidden marriages, and must therefore be construed as including, by "parity of reason," all parallels of the specified cases, and, *a fortiori*, all clearer ones ?

But is it doubtful that the laws about polygamy prohibited only the specified forms of it ? And does not that theory force the conclusion that all other forms of that infamy were, and must remain, in full accord with that Divine and eternal moral-

* No attention is paid to the marginal reading of v. 18, because so indefensible, and so generally rejected by Biblicalists.

ity which the laws are thus supposed to have embodied? And does not the avoiding plea that this sanction was only until CHRIST should come (after eighteen centuries), or until an advanced civilisation should end polygamy, not only repudiate the presupposed qualities of the laws as moral and abiding, but also make sad havoc of their morality, and malign their Author?

And rather than hastily adopt such a ruinous theory, may it not be better to consider the social surroundings, and study well the context [vv. 24-30], where GOD, referring directly to the *forbidden acts*, said, "Defile not ye yourselves in any of *these* things: for in all *these* the nations are defiled which I cast out before you; and the land is defiled; *therefore* I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants;" and again, "Ye shall not commit any of *these* abominations (for all *these* abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled), that the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations which were before you;" and thus see whether the laws, instead of being exhaustive moral laws, were not special laws, which were directed solely against those abominations of the Canaanites for which GOD drove them out, and which therefore left wholly beyond their scope, and *unsanctioned as well as unprohibited*, (a) all supposedly parallel or worse vices, which were not "customs" of Canaan, and (b) all seemingly kindred vices of Canaan, which GOD must be regarded as condemning, but which, for His own unrevealed reasons, He did not make expelling vices?

Then if it shall appear that the laws were thus limited, would not a Canon that shall reach either beyond the customs of Canaan, or beyond the particular customs thus made expulsive, transcend those laws, and therein be, at best, only one based on their supposed principles? And would not any such human addition to the revealed laws be at the risk of misconceiving unrevealed principles of the laws, and of thus hindering a marriage which GOD has left optional, and of casting unjust censure upon parties to it? [Even Dr. Pusey was constrained to admit, on his theory of the laws, that "on what ground it pleased GOD to enforce specifically certain cases, and not by name to enforce others . . . we cannot say." *God's Prohibition*, etc., p. 11.]

Likewise do not all who read verse sixteen as a law against

marriage with a brother's widow, and thus make that marriage one of the "abominations" for which the Canaanites were "spued out," charge the God of Israel with having commanded, by His Levirate law [*Deuteronomy xxv. 5*], a vileness fitly classed [*Leviticus xviii.*] with sodomy and bestiality? And is His character, as thus shockingly portrayed, one whit relieved by their sorry plea that He commanded this supposed vileness only for about eighteen centuries, and for the paltry purpose of preserving the dead brother's inheritance in a family raised up by the supposed vileness of his successor, and *hence* only by a flimsy fiction of Jewish law?

But, before maligning God in such wise, would it be amiss very seriously to consider whether that extremity cannot be escaped by assigning to *uncover nakedness* some other meaning than *marriage*, or possibly accepting God's Word as He gave it, and reading "wife" as meaning *wife*? And if so, whether it may not be preferable to adopt one of those expedients, at the cost, it may be, of foregoing a darling prejudice, than to insist upon thus vilifying God's character?

III. Can God's expulsion of the heathen Canaanites appear just, unless for violation of natural law? And is not natural law universal, and verified in every inquiring conscience? And is there any natural law against marrying any mere law relative? And if any would assert any such law, would not that (as natural and universal) be a surer and wiser basis for a restrictive Canon than a Levitical one that needs to be falsified for that purpose?

IV. Dropping, now, the supposition that any of the laws related to marriage, except as verses seventeen and eighteen related to specified kinds of polygamy, and looking at the laws more in detail: is it not possible, and even probable, that when God said "wife" He meant what He said? And is it not a universal rule of construction, and a common-sense dictate in constant use, that words must be given their natural meaning unless another one is well indicated? And would it not be folly for any one to read neighbor's "wife" in verse twenty as meaning his *widow*? And if so, is not this because such rule and such dictate preclude it? And do the laws of verses eight, fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen, against the forbidden act with father's wife, father's brother's wife, brother's wife, and son's wife, hint that "wife" did not there mean *wife*?—that the

husband in either such case, any more than the neighbor of verse twenty, was a dead one? And if the forbidden act in those laws was adultery or lewdness, or any act committible alike in or out of marriage, can "wife" there be read as meaning *widow* any more than in verse twenty? (Try it by substituting such act for its defining phrase.) Indeed, unless the forbidden act was marriage, and exclusively that, can any rational being have possible excuse for changing "wife" to *widow* in these exact, and presumably well expressed, laws of God? And is it not most presumptuous to do that, and a vicious "tampering with God's laws" "in the interest of" pet prejudices and a forlorn cause? And when it is considered (*a*) that the Israelites were then living in polygamy, and (*b*) that the heathen Canaanites were driven out for abominations, violative of laws written in their hearts, and polygamous and debased Israel, as then free from those abominations, admitted to Canaan in their stead, is it not a shame for any to blazon those laws against special extremes of polygamy, etc., as "God's law of marriage" for Christendom? And is it not absurd for any to claim that marriages with widows of dead kin (related only at law, and only in the past) were amongst those heathenish abominations? And when it is further considered that immortality had not then been brought to light, does not the idea become intensely ridiculous, that such marriages were forbidden as uncovering the nakedness of the dead husbands' remains?

V. And now as to the forbidden act, defined by *uncover nakedness*; if we recall that God closely limited these laws to the particular customs of Canaan which it pleased Him to make the expelling customs, is it not instantly evident that, if that act with the specified wives was not lewdness, but marriage, then marriages with those affines stand as Canaanitish customs, and expelling ones, and lewdness with them disappears both as a Canaanitish custom and as forbidden by these laws? And does not this necessary result of regarding marriage as the forbidden act exclude that idea?

But although those who assert these laws as against marriage with various affines, commonly treat them as against marriage, and, to their shame, do not scruple to cite one and another law against the forbidden act with a man's "wife," as if it *read* against *marriage with his widow*; yet, does any Biblical scholar, or any asserter of these laws as forbidding marriage with any

mere affine, venture to claim that the defining phrase actually meant marriage? But whatever the defining phrase meant, was not that the *subject* of the laws? And must not sentences, written or spoken, always be construed with close regard to their subject, or be misunderstood? And unless the forbidden act was marriage, and exclusively that, can any one of common sense pretend that a law against such act with a man's "wife" was one against marrying his widow? And if not, must not all doubt be ended, that the laws of *Leviticus xviii.* against Canaanish lewdnesses were as silent as the grave about marriage with any mere affine? And must not a resurrection of them as "God's law of marriage," whatever its motive, be directly "in the interest of self-willed and licentious people," who would impose upon Christendom the unrebuked polygamy of Canaan and Israel, and also of another class of libertines, as encouraging dangerous familiarities with near affines, under the plea that these laws forbid marriage, and then as ignoring the lewdness thus fostered?

VI. Finally, gathering up some of the necessary answers to the foregoing, and withholding numerous crucial inquiries that press for attention, is it not already evident that the laws of *Leviticus xviii.*, misread as relating to marriage, would dishonor their author (a) as blindly phrased, and full of unresolvable riddles (as they always have been, and must be, to all who so read them); (b) as sanctioning polygamy, save only with sisters, and with a mother and her daughter or granddaughter; (c) as incongruous with God's Levirate law, and charging Him with thereby ordering an abomination; (d) as classing marriages with mere affines (against which there is no natural law, and so generally approved by Christian moralists) amongst the abominations for which God expelled the heathen Canaanites — and thus charging Him with gross injustice; and (e) as ranking marriage with such affines worse than lewdness with them, and leaving that wholly unrebuked? And is it not also evident that those laws, read as God gave them, and naturally, are immediately seen to be plain laws against the specified lewdnesses, — the expelling abominations of Canaan, — and in full accord with their attending circumstances, and concurrent laws of God; and though ill adapted to our monogamic and Christian civilisation, fully adapted to their occasion, and to the Israel of that rude age?

JOHN B. GALE.

THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF EPISCOPACY.*

1. ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΡΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, νῦν πρώτον ἐκδιδομένη ἵππο
φιλοθίου, Βρυξελλού, μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας.
2. *The Institution of the Christian Ministry.* By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D. D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge. 1883.
3. *Some Remarks on Bishop Lightfoot's Dissertation on the Christian Ministry.* By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D. D., D. C. L., Bishop of St. Andrews, etc. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons. 1884.
4. *A History of the Catholic Church of JESUS CHRIST from the Death of S. John to the Middle of the Second Century.* By Rev. T. W. MOSSMAN, B. A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1873.
5. *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, being a Reprint of the Texts, either original or translated, of the most representative Liturgies of the Church. By C. E. HAMMOND, M. A. Oxford. 1878.
6. *Analecta Ante-Nicæna.* Collegit, recensuit, illustravit C. C. J. BUNSEN. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1854.

MANY volumes have been written and published on the subject indicated in our title, which, as is well known, has been the great battle-ground of the churches for ages. The discoveries and researches of scholars of recent times, together with the results of our own studies in this direction for a number of years past, have placed some of the questions relating to the organisation, ministry, and public offices of the Church upon, as it appears to us, such a different and more intelligible footing, that we have thought it proper to give to the public what

* The author of this article is not a clergyman of either the Church of England or the Church in the United States. We have thought it worthy of publication in the *CHURCH REVIEW*, and believe it will be read with interest by all those whose attention has been drawn to a consideration of the "Historic Episcopate." It is the first of a series of articles on this subject to appear in these pages.—*EDITOR.*

we have been able to gather as the fruits of our labors in this field of inquiry.

I. THE MINISTRY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

The little work recently brought to light and published in Constantinople by a bishop and scholar of the Eastern Church, claiming to be the "Teaching of the **LORD** through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations," is in many ways a remarkable production. Whether we accept it as the veritable work of the Apostles, or, at the least, their teaching embodied and put into systematic form by another, or whether it is to be regarded as of later date, though certainly not later than the beginning of the second century, in either case it unquestionably represents the thought and usage of a very early time in the Christian Church. For ourselves, we have no hesitation in assigning it, with Jahn, Schaff, and other scholars, to the first century and the apostolic times, or to a date not later than that of the first epistle of Clement of Rome, which is commonly fixed at A. D. 95.

There are many questions of interest touched upon in this little document, which will be matter of discussion in the churches for a long time to come, notably those of the Divinity of **JESUS CHRIST**, of the mode of baptism, of the exclusive use of the **LORD'S Prayer**, and one or two others. But none among them all, it may safely be said, will give rise to more and more earnest controversy than that suggested in the title to this section, namely: "The Constitution of the Priesthood or Ministry in the Primitive Church." In order that we may have a clear view of the question, we here transcribe, in an English version, the whole of the "Teaching" relating to that subject, beginning with the last sentence of chapter X., which treats of the thanksgiving after the Eucharist or Holy Supper:—

But to the prophets permit to give thanks at such length as they think proper.

CHAP. XI.—Whoever, therefore, shall come and teach you all these things which have gone before, receive him; but if the teacher himself turn aside and teach another teaching to the overthrowing of this, do not hear him; but if to the promoting of righteousness and the knowledge of the **LORD**, receive him as the **LORD**. But as regards the apostles and prophets, according to the ordinance of the Gospel so do ye. And every apostle who cometh to you, let him be received as the **LORD**; but he shall not remain more than one day; if, however,

there be need, then another ; but if he remain three days, he is an impostor. But when the apostle departeth, let him take nothing except bread enough until he find lodging ; but if he ask money, he is an impostor. And every prophet speaking in the Spirit, ye shall not try nor judge ; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But not every one speaking in the Spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the **LORD**. From their ways, therefore, shall the impostor and the prophet be known. And no prophet who appoints a feast eateth of the same ; if otherwise, he is an impostor ; and every prophet teaching the truth, if he do not the things which he teacheth, is an impostor. But every prophet approved, true, acting with reference to the earthly mystery of the Church (that is, with a view to the divinely-revealed order of the Church on earth), but not teaching others to do all things that he himself doeth, shall not be judged by you, for with **God** he hath his judgment ; for so also did the prophets of old. But whosoever in the Spirit shall say, Give me money or something else, ye shall not hearken to him ; but if for others in need he bids you give, let no man judge him.

CHAP. XIII. — But every true prophet willing to abide among you is worthy of his maintenance. Likewise a true teacher, he also is worthy, like the laborer, of his hire. Every first-fruit, therefore, of the products of the wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen, and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets, for they are your high priests. But if ye have no prophet, give it to the poor. If thou makest a baking of bread, take the first of it and give according to the commandment. In like manner, when thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the first of it and give to the prophets ; and of money, and clothing, and every kind of goods, take the first as may appear good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAP. XV. — Choose ye, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the **LORD**, men meek and not lovers of money, and true and approved ; for they also exercise for you the office of the prophets and teachers. Despise them not, therefore, for they are honoured of you together with the prophets and teachers.

Now, whatever view we may take as to the validity and authority of this teaching, no one, we suppose, will deny that it is a faithful account of the organisation and nomenclature of the ministry of the Church at the time it was written. And as this is, as we shall presently see, identically the same as that found in the New Testament, it seems plain that this part of the "Teaching" dates from a time (as we have before expressed our belief) very shortly after that of the New Testament writings, if not within the age of the Apostles themselves. We have here

apostles, prophets, teachers, as in the two places [*I Corinthians* xii. 28; *Ephesians* iv. 11; cf. *Acts* xiii. 1] where S. Paul gives an enumeration of the orders and *charismata*, or spiritual gifts, in the Church. We have also the mention of bishops (evidently presbyter-bishops, or elders) and deacons, as in the Pastoral Epistles and *Philippians* i. 1. Again, we have apostles and prophets coupled together, as in several places in the New Testament, as *Ephesians* ii. 20; iii. 5; *Revelation* xviii. 20.

As respects the term apostles, it is evident that it is here employed not in the specific sense, in which we now use it, as applying to the twelve and S. Paul alone, but in the wider and also Scriptural usage of any one sent forth to teach and preach the Gospel. Of the prophets we shall have more to say presently. We desire first to speak of the term *teachers*. This, although seemingly used in a kind of general way, as denoting any one who comes as an expounder or proclaimer of the Christian doctrines, yet, from its use in chapters XIII. and XV., would seem really to indicate a particular class or order of recognised ministers of the Word; as where it is said, "Likewise a true teacher, he also is worthy of his maintenance;" and where the bishops and deacons are said to "exercise the office of the prophets and teachers." Now we are told that there was a class of elders, or presbyters, in the primitive Church, whose particular duty it was to instruct the catechumens, or candidates for baptism and confirmation, in the doctrines of the Church, to whom the title of *presbyteri-doctores*, or presbyter-teachers, was given, and who were, therefore, distinguished in function, though not in rank, from the presbyter-bishops mentioned in chapter XV. as well as in the New Testament.

To pass now to the order of prophets. The mention of this order of men, and the manner in which they are spoken of, together with what we learn respecting them in the New Testament and elsewhere, affords a subject of absorbing interest in connection with that of the constitution of the Church in the primitive times. We know that prophets are frequently mentioned in the Acts and Epistles of the New Testament as existing under the new or Christian dispensation, and from the Apostle's remarks about it in *I Corinthians* xiv. and elsewhere, the gift of prophecy appears to have been not altogether uncommon in the early Church, though in what it consisted precisely has been a matter of considerable discussion among commentators.

For that it was not confined entirely or chiefly to the power of foretelling future events, as in the case of the Old Testament prophets, but had reference to preaching and expounding the Scriptures also in connection with the other, is very clear. But while the prophetic gift was thus somewhat widely diffused, the prophetic office, as pertaining to a distinct order of men, was differently circumstanced. And that there was such an order, appears plainly enough from the passages in the New Testament referred to above, especially *1 Corinthians* xii. 28, and *Ephesians* iv. 11. In both of these we have prophets mentioned next to apostles in the order of rank and precedence, and characterised as a distinct class, and, presumably, exercising peculiar functions. Nor is this all; but in the other passages cited above, apostles and prophets are mentioned together as standing for the whole ministry and teaching-function of the Church. Particularly is this true of the first of these, namely, *Ephesians* ii. 20, in which it is emphatically declared that the Church "is built upon *the foundation of the apostles and prophets*, JESUS CHRIST himself being the chief corner-stone."

We are aware that it has been customary hitherto to consider the prophets here named in conjunction with the apostles as the prophets of the Old Testament, and the teachers of the two dispensations are thus considered as unitedly forming the foundation of the Christian Faith and organisation. But in the way of this explanation, though generally accepted, there are, as has often been acknowledged, grave difficulties. First, if the prophets of the Old Covenant are meant, they would naturally be mentioned first and not second; and secondly, the way in which they are spoken of in other places renders it plain that it is the prophets of the New and not those of the Old Covenant that are intended. In the next chapter of this same Epistle, for example, we read [v. 5], "Which (the mystery of CHRIST) in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit." Certainly, it would appear that Ols hausen, the well-known German commentator, is right when, writing of these passages, he says:—

The first question here is, whether the reference is to the prophets of the Old or to those of the New Testament. Everything argues the latter. Not merely the circumstance that the prophets are named *after* the apostles, but also the absence of the article, which makes apostles

and prophets appear most intimately united, and the nature of the case : the prophets of the Old Testament cannot well be called foundations of the temple which grows out of CHRIST.

There is one other passage on which we lay no stress, as its meaning is a little obscure, but which manifestly cannot relate to the Scriptures of the Old Testament prophets. It is to be found in *Romans* xvi. 25, 26, and reads thus :—

The preaching of JESUS CHRIST, according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the scriptures of the prophets (Gr. *prophetical writings*) according to the commandment of the everlasting God, is made known to all nations for the obedience of faith.

That the prophets, therefore, were a distinct class, and even a distinct order of the ministry, ranking with and joined to the apostles in the building up of the early Christian Church, would appear to be the plain conclusion from what has gone before, had we no more direct and positive testimony to the fact in the document before us, as well as in other places. Before entering upon the consideration of this, however, we will refer to one other confirmation of our position in the New Testament itself. It occurs in *Acts* xv., in connection with the proceedings of the council of the apostles and elders, held at Jerusalem, to consider the case of the church of Antioch, which had been disturbed by the Judaisers, and their insisting that they should be circumcised and observe the law. The apostles and elders, we read, with the whole church at Jerusalem, after drawing up a letter to the brethren at Antioch, sent "chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas, namely, Judas, surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, *chief men* among the brethren," of whom later we read : "And Judas and Silas, *being prophets also themselves*,"* exhorted the brethren [in Antioch] with many words, and confirmed them" [v. 32], and while the others returned to Jerusalem, "it pleased Silas (we are told) to abide there still."

Who, then, were the prophets, and what was the prophetic office in the primitive Church ? This question the *Didaché*, or "Teaching," answers with no uncertain sound : "For they are your high-priests." Here then, we think, is solved for us the problem of the organisation of the early Church. Here we learn

* We make no pretensions to Greek scholarship, but it appears to us that this clause might with equal correctness be translated, "they being also prophets."

the origin of the Christian ministry, and the meaning of the Apostle's saying that the Church is built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets. It has commonly been supposed, by those who hold to the existence of an episcopal order in the Church from the beginning, that the apostles were themselves the first bishops, and the succession of the bishops was thus an "apostolical succession." But there were many difficulties, as is well known, attending this belief. In the first place, the apostles were a specially-appointed order of men, chosen by our LORD himself for the performance of a particular function, which function ceased with the death of those who exercised it, and was never revived; and hence those who exercised it could never have any successors. Secondly, that function was in no sense an episcopal or priestly function. The apostles were neither bishops nor priests, and performed no priestly office properly so called. They baptised, it is true, and also confirmed by the laying on of hands. But it was only as forming part of their apostolic or missionary commission, and in the case of new converts to the faith, and not as pastors or overseers of congregations of believers. And S. Paul takes pains to prove that he baptised very few even in this way, adding that the LORD "sent him not to baptise, but to preach the Gospel" [*1 Corinthians i.*]. It is clear, therefore, that the two functions were quite distinct from the first, and that the bishops of later times were not successors of the apostles, though certainly in many instances, possibly in all, receiving their succession *from* them by the laying on of their hands, — but "sons of the prophets," in the sense of the New and not of the Old Covenant. And this is perfectly in accord with the teaching of the Fathers in relation to this matter. Speaking of the succession of bishops in the Church of Rome, Irenæus says: —

The blessed apostles [SS. Peter and Paul], upon founding and erecting the Church, committed the office of administering the Church to Linus. Of this Linus Paul speaks in the Epistle to Timothy. To Linus succeeded Anacletus; and after him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement received the bishopric, who also, having seen the blessed apostles and having been conversant with them, still had their preaching ringing in his ears, and their tradition before his eyes. [Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*, vol. v. pp. 261, 262.]

Here, it is plain, Irenæus clearly distinguishes between the Apostolic and the Episcopal and priestly functions, making the

former to consist in founding and erecting the Church, and the latter in administering it, after it was so founded. Rufinus in the preface to his translation of the *Clementine Recognitions*, observes the same distinction. In order to reconcile the statement or implication of Clement in this work that he was the first bishop of Rome, with that of Irenæus and the common tradition that there were two others before him, he remarks :—

Linus and [Ana]cletus were indeed bishops in the City of Rome before Clement, but during the lifetime of Peter ; that is, *that they undertook the care of the episcopate, and that he fulfilled the office of the apostleship* ; as is found also to have been the case at Cæsarea, where, when he himself was present, he yet had Zaccheus ordained by himself as bishop. [Clark, *ubi supra*, vol. iii. p. 142.]

Another explanation of this difficulty may also be found in the fact that, as we have seen, the first bishops were called *prophets*, and not bishops, and Clement, it may be, was the first of the Roman succession to whom the latter title was applied.

Peter was not, however, the only one of the Apostles who is known to have ordained bishops to serve during his own lifetime, and in immediate association with himself in the Church. The same thing is said of John by several of the Fathers. Thus in Clement of Alexandria we read that John went about from city to city, “in some places to establish bishops, in others to consolidate whole churches, in others, again, to appoint to the clerical office some one of those who had been signified by the Spirit.” “The sequence of bishops,” writes Tertullian, of the Church of Asia Minor, “traced back to its origin, will be found to rest on the authority of John.” And in the *Muratorian Fragment* John is described as having his “fellow-disciples and bishops” gathered about him. We have further the record of particular bishops who were appointed by him.

Thus the apostles and prophets were from the first distinct orders of men in the Church, though always united and going hand in hand in the work of founding and building up the Church on earth, the one as the representative of the evangelising and missionary, and the other of the priestly or administrative function ; both of which, as we know, are necessary to the establishment of a new religion in the world.*

* The case was altogether similar in the Old Testament, where we have the priesthood, although instituted through Moses, as the Divinely-appointed Apostle

If now we inquire more particularly as to the nature of the latter, or priestly and episcopal, function, we shall find that the administration of the sacraments, and of the Holy Communion especially, and "speaking in the Spirit," were, in the early days of the Church, its principal duties. Hence we read in the *Didaché*: "But let the prophet give thanks (after the Eucharist) at such length as he may deem proper." This does not exclude others, or at least the presbyter-bishop, from the administration; but, on the contrary, a form of thanksgiving is given apparently for his use, and other provisos are added, in the event of there being no prophet in any church, in which case the bishops and deacons exercise for the people "the office of the prophets and teachers," that is, according to what has gone before, of celebrating the Communion, and preaching, and instructing the catechumens, and receiving them into membership in the Church.

As regards "speaking in the Spirit," this was the special *charisma*, or gift, of the prophet, and that from which he doubtless principally derived his name. And when this special miraculous gift ceased, then it was, we may suppose, that this name was seen to be no longer appropriate, and that of bishop was adopted from the lower order (which had already one or two others, as we have seen, besides), in its place. That this gift, in the case of the prophet, involved preaching and expounding the Scriptures, under a peculiar Divine illumination, is plain from frequent references to it in the New Testament, and especially in 1 *Timothy* iv. 13, 14: "Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by *prophecy*, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," together with those of the Apostle himself, as we learn from 2 *Timothy* i. 6.

There can be no longer any doubt in the mind of a reader of the *Teaching*, that Timothy was a prophet, and therefore a high-priest and bishop to the Church of Ephesus, at the time this epistle was written. But some objection, accompanied with no little pleasantry, has been raised by the opponents of Episcopacy, on the ground of "the non-residence of Bishop Timothy in his Diocese," as shown in his journeys with S. Paul, and visits to other churches. This difficulty is wholly removed, however,

and founder of that dispensation, yet tracing its descent and succession not from him but from Aaron and his sons, who really performed its functions.

by what we learn from the *Didaché*. We there find that in the then infantile and feeble state of the Church, the prophets often made but short and temporary visits to the churches, as in the case of Silas and Judas, above cited from *Acts xv.*, to do what was needed to be done: as to compose differences and settle controversies, or perhaps to ordain presbyters, or baptise and confirm, which latter, as we know, has always formed part of the duty of the bishop, down to the present day. But at other times he took up his residence and remained in a certain locality, as in the case of Silas at Antioch, and received his support from the churches, as we read: "Every true prophet, willing to abide among you, is worthy of his maintenance." *

Such, then, do we gather from this valuable little work, together with the notices which we find in the Scriptures, to have been the organisation of the ministry in the primitive times, namely, that while to the Apostles was committed the general oversight and superintendence of the Church, — "The care of all the churches," as the chief of them expresses it, — in addition to their special function of proclaiming the new truths and founding the Church, the particular administration of the churches so founded was put into the hands of others, constituting a regular, Divinely-ordained and threefold order of ministers or clergy, existing from the first, united to and coöperating with the Apostles, and, in many instances at least, receiving their commission and ordination at their hands; and thus together with the latter forming the foundation of the Church, and the medium of the Divine influences and teachings to the people. Thus we have the three orders of prophets, teachers (or bishops, or presbyters), and deacons, to issue finally in the three permanent names and offices of bishops, presbyters, or priests, and deacons, of later times.

And that this was the case, we have the testimony of later ecclesiastical writers; though as the most of these whose writings have come down to us, and have touched upon this ques-

* We have throughout this section refrained from any allusion to the position of James at Jerusalem, for the reason that he is nowhere in the New Testament called either a prophet or a bishop, though pronounced by the unanimous voice of antiquity the first bishop of Jerusalem. That he was specially designated to this office, both by our LORD Himself [*1 Corinthians xv. 7*], and by the Apostles generally, probably under the name of prophet, we have, however, little doubt. [See Dr. Wordsworth's *Some Remarks, etc.*, p. 25 ff.]

tion, lived in an age considerably removed from the apostolic times, when only the obscure tradition of the primitive order survived, and when it had throughout the Church given place to the Episcopal order and titles, we cannot expect to find very many evidences to the former in their works. Yet we are not left wholly without such evidence, of which we have been fortunate enough to meet with the following.

Hermas, in his work called *The Shepherd*, sees in a vision a great tower, "built upon the waters, of splendid square stones;" and upon his asking the lady who shows him the vision, and who, we are told, represents the Church, the meaning of the stones, she replies: —

These square, white stones, which fitted exactly into each other, are apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have acted as bishops and teachers and deacons, chastely and reverently, to the elect of God, some of them having fallen asleep, and some being still alive.*

And what is meant by *bishops* here, we are very plainly told in another place near the end of the work, where it is said: —

Some of them have been bishops, that is, governors of the churches; . . . then such as have been set over inferior ministries.

There are also several allusions in the work to "the chief seat," and to those who covet it. When, therefore, in the third book, he repeats the enumeration given above, only substituting *prophets* for bishops,† we suppose no one will question that, in Hermas's mind, at least, prophets and bishops were identical, and that they both were "governors of the churches," and those who occupy the *chief seats*.

In the *Acta Polycarpi*, or story of the martyrdom of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, he is called "the most admirable martyr, Polycarp, who even in our own time was apostolic and prophetic teacher, and Bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna."‡

The following, from Tertullian, seems to point to an order of men associated with the Apostles, from whom the bishops derived their succession: —

* Clark, vol. i. p. 336.

† "The next thirty-five [stones] are the *prophets* and deacons of the LORD. And the forty are the apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God." Clark, vol. i. p. 419.

‡ Mossman, p. 281. Clark, vol. i. p. 92. See original of the passage in Schaff on the *Teaching*, p. 72, note.

Let the heretics produce the original of their churches, let them recount their bishops one by one, so descending by succession from the beginning, that he who was the first bishop had one of the Apostles, or of the apostolic men who persevered with the Apostles, for his author and predecessor. For in this manner the apostolic churches derive their succession.*

The ancient liturgies, also, notwithstanding that they have all, doubtless, been more or less tampered with by those through whose hands they have passed in their transmission to our time, recognise in some instances the identity of prophets and bishops. In nearly all of them, for example, we have the associating of the apostles and prophets as belonging both to the ministry of the Christian Church, as in the following from the East Syrian liturgy :—

Be mindful of the prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops,† teachers, priests, deacons, and all the sons of the Holy Catholic Church, who have been signed with the sign of life, holy baptism.

But we have more than this in the Armenian liturgy, where, at the procession, the priest and deacons sing these words :—

O CHRIST, who through thy blood hast made the Church brighter than the heavens, and who hast ordained in her, after the manner of the heavenly hosts, orders of apostles, prophets, and holy teachers ; we, of the order of priests, deacons, clerks, and ecclesiastics, gathered together on this day, offer Thee incense, O LORD.‡

The prophetic office in the early Church would thus appear to have been a temporary, provisional order, intermediate between the high-priesthood of the Jewish Dispensation and the Episcopal Order of the Christian Church, lasting only during the apostolic times, and destined to die out and give place to the latter as more perfect and better suited to the settled condition of the Church, according as the Apostles themselves departed, and the age of miracles ceased along with them. But it was during that early time no less a standing proof of the necessity of order and subordination in the organisation of the ministry of the Church than that which succeeded it, loose and irregular as, in certain respects, when compared with the greater

* Clark, vol. xv. p. 37. See original in Mossman, p. 3, note.

† We cannot but regard the insertion of bishops here, as well as the placing of apostles after prophets, as the work of a later hand, ignorant of the true relations of the titles in the ancient Church.

‡ Hammond, p. 140.

strictness and permanency of this latter, it may appear to be. But let us ever bear in mind that this looseness and irregularity were not the result of any want of the Divine guidance, or of the shaping of apostolic and properly-constituted authority, but rather the natural attendant, as we have said, of the incipient stage of the Church's life, and an accommodation, though a perfectly orderly and constitutional one, to the necessities of the time.

In the light of this teaching and explanation of the subject, therefore, all the so-called irregularities, and the many objections and difficulties which have been urged against the common Episcopal theory, as applied to the primitive age, vanish at once, and become, in fact, necessary factors in the statement of the case. Much, for example, has been made by the opponents of Episcopacy — to descend to particular instances of the objections referred to — of the condition of the churches of Rome and Corinth, and particularly of that of Alexandria, as these Churches first present themselves to our notice. From the first Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, it is manifest that that church was at that time without a bishop, and although bishops and deacons are mentioned together in the Epistle, it is pretty clear that by the former are meant the same as by the presbyters, also spoken of by the same writer. But if bishops, in the later sense, are not mentioned, "high-priests" certainly are, and the three orders of the ministry plainly recognised in the beautiful allusion to their several functions contained in this well-known passage: —

Now the offerings and ministrations he commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons. And when and by whom he would have them performed he himself fixed by his supreme will. . . . For unto the high-priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the Levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances. Let each of you, brethren, *in his own order*, give thanks unto God, maintaining a good conscience, and not transgressing the appointed rule of his service.*

Can any reader of the *Didachē* doubt for a moment that the high-priest here mentioned is the *Prophet* of the *Teaching*, who is expressly so styled, as we have seen, in chapter XIII.?

* Clark, vol. i. p. 36.

Or can we for a moment suppose that the writer is here alluding to the priesthood of the Old Covenant as an existing institution, when the temple had been destroyed a quarter of a century before? It is true, he speaks plainly of the Jewish priesthood and sacrifices in the following section, and this likewise in the present tense, but he speaks of them in such a way as leaves no doubt that he means these and no others, and as though the mention of the Christian priesthood under the old titles had brought them to his mind.

As to the fact that he mentions no high-priest or prophet in connection with the Church of Corinth, this is readily explained upon the principle already set forth in a previous part of this section, namely, that the prophets frequently were not settled in any locality, but went from one place to another, according as they were called; and at this particular time there would appear to have been none resident in the Achaian capital, this church being at this juncture in the position referred to in the latter part of Chapter XIII. of the *Teaching*: "But if ye have no Prophet," etc.

Turning from Corinth to Rome, we are met with the alleged difficulty that not only does Clement, or whoever may have been the writer of this epistle (for both the date and the authorship of it are uncertain, although it is commonly attributed to Clement, and to about the year 95), — not only does the author not speak of himself as Bishop of Rome, or write with any Episcopal authority; but also, that, so late as the time of the martyrdom of Ignatius, there would seem to have been no one invested with this dignity, from the fact that this latter writer, who, in his epistles to the churches in Asia Minor and the East, is careful to allude, and send greetings and strongly urge submission, in each case, to the bishop of the Church, in that to the Romans never refers to the bishop in any way.

As to the first difficulty, supposing the writer to the Church of Corinth to have been the Bishop of Rome, — of which supposition there is, however, not a particle of proof, — we have only to conceive him as endowed with a becoming, or possibly an excessive, degree of modesty, and the whole objection is removed. The case of Ignatius's Epistle is somewhat more serious; but might it not be quite possible that while in the East — in Jerusalem, Antioch, Syria, and Asia Minor — the transition stage of progress in the Church was already past, so that the

prophets in those regions had given place to the new order and title of bishops, the Church in the West was not yet so far advanced, and was still holding on to the old order and to the title of prophet? And supposing one holding this title and dignity to be actually resident in the imperial capital at the date of Ignatius's letter, he may yet not have been the proper representative of the Church, as the Bishops subsequently came to be.* This would appear to be really the case from the fact that, as we have seen in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which is usually assigned to A. D. 150 to 160, — that is, forty or fifty years later, — the two titles are still used interchangeably, although the Episcopal office and title is very plainly recognised in the work throughout.

In a similar way would we explain the difficulties which are supposed to be set up by the state of things in the Church of Alexandria, which appears to have been one of the very latest, if not the latest of all, to adopt the new order. That certain churches should have been very slow in making the change from the prophetic to the episcopal form ; that some, indeed, may never have come under the apostolic or prophetic order at all, but may have preferred originally and from the first the *Presbyterian* form of government, or to confide the direction of their affairs to the college of their presbyters or pastors, either with or without a president elected from their own number as their head, as many are disposed to think was the case at Alexandria, and only gradually and reluctantly, and after a severe conflict it may be, finally adopted the Episcopal order,† — is a supposition which is not at all unnatural or impossible, though we think the instances of it are rare, and confined to remote localities where the influence of the Apostles and the general Church was small. Nor does it conflict in the least with our theory, since, as we learn plainly from the *Didaché*, the churches were left, with that broad and genuinely catholic spirit which characterised the Apostles and the early Church, in entire freedom of action in this matter ; and, although the prophetic order

* It is true Irenæus and the common tradition, as we have seen, speak of bishops in Rome from the days of the Apostles ; but they plainly were not bishops in the later sense, or invested with the authority and representative character of the Eastern bishops of Ignatius's time, and doubtless, as before remarked, the name and character of prophet was still retained in the imperial city.

† See Lightfoot, Mossmann, and other moderate Episcopal writers, and the Presbyterian authors *passim*.

was clearly recommended by the Apostles and was adopted by the great majority of the churches, it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that some few of them, and possibly Alexandria among the number, never came into the arrangement; though, if the tradition of the founding of that church by S. Mark have any basis of truth to rest upon,—which is somewhat doubtful,—Alexandria was one of the very first to adopt an Episcopal order, inasmuch as S. Mark himself, according to the legend, is said to have appointed Annian (his first convert) Bishop of the city, together with three priests and seven deacons.

Thus do all the principal examples, which have been cited for centuries in opposition to the commonly received doctrine of the Episcopacy, fade away before the true theory, as we now learn it from the *Didaché*, and the New Testament, understood in the light of that document. There is one other objection, however, which has commonly been urged against Episcopacy as claiming to be the primitive order, that is worthy of passing notice in this place, and of which, as we think, our view affords likewise a clear solution. The objection is that the first bishops, even so late as the time of Ignatius, or during the first quarter of the second century, were not diocesan Bishops, but simply presidents over single congregations, the churches being uniformly spoken of as thus consisting of but one assembly, and all coming together in a single place, where the bishop himself was present and presided. Now we are not called upon to enter into a defense of the primitiveness of Diocesan Episcopacy, as it exists to-day, or even as it existed so early as the third or fourth century of our era; but, admitting that the above was largely the case in the primitive times, especially in remote districts and in the smaller towns and villages, it certainly could not have been true of the larger cities. In Jerusalem, for instance, where there were, before the destruction of the city by Titus, several thousands of Christians, there must evidently have been more than one congregation, and the jurisdiction of James doubtless extended to them all. Ignatius himself styles himself, throughout his Epistles, bishop, not of Antioch alone, but of “the Church which is in Syria,” which must certainly have comprised several congregations. So we read that Rome and Alexandria were early divided into many districts or parishes, each district and quarter of the former, as Epiphanius informs us, having its own church and its own presbyter; while of the latter

we are told that, in the time of Cornelius (died A. D. 253), there were forty-six presbyters in that city, and, "a few years later, Optatus mentions that there were more than forty basilicas," or churches.*

That in the earlier days of the Church, and in the smaller localities, it was customary for all the congregations, or the whole Christian population, to assemble together from time to time in one place under the presidency of the prophet or bishop, who then acted as the officiating minister and celebrated the Eucharist, we may readily infer from the *Didaché*, as well as from statements in other writers; but this does not affect in the least the true character of the prophet or bishop himself, or his office as "the governor of the Church" in that locality, as Hermas styles him, nor did the custom probably continue for any great length of time.

Finally, in the view which we are here advocating, we find the explanation of the *change* which writers of all Christian bodies have been forced to acknowledge took place in the constitution of the Church and its ministry, shortly before the departure of the last of the Apostles, by which the government of the entire Church, East and West, had, by the end of the second century, become Episcopal, and which a German scholar in our day has sought to account for by the hypothesis of a council or consultation of S. John, S. Philip, and the other remaining Apostles, to provide for the emergency which their death would create.†

That such a consultation did take place is not at all an improbable supposition, in our opinion; and that the change was the result of action of some kind on the part of the Apostles is scarcely to be questioned. But it involved in reality no sudden or violent revolution, or radical alteration in the polity or constitution of the Church; but consisted simply, as we have already seen, in rendering settled and permanent an order and institution which had existed from the first, and in giving new and permanent titles to the offices thus placed upon a secure and lasting basis. Hence it was, no doubt, that the new system was everywhere recognised as of Apostolic and even Divine authority, and was hailed with acclamations of delight throughout the Church Catholic as the true and fitting order, and the

* See Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, article "Parish."

† See Lightfoot, pp. 39 ff.

one centre of the Church's unity and strength, and the cure for all her ills and dissensions, as is manifest from the writings of Ignatius, who would appear to have been himself among the first of the new bishops, and the rapture with which he discourses upon the subject throughout his epistles; as well as from such an expression as this from the pen of Clement of Alexandria, who held that "there are ranks in heaven corresponding to the advancements in the Church; namely, to bishops, presbyters, and deacons." To suppose that such sentiments and expressions could have been elicited by the contemplation of any mere humanly invented or contrived institution, or one growing up under the operation of a simple "*paulatim*" process, or gradual development or evolution theory, such as that described by Jerome and other later writers and opponents, is to suppose such men as Ignatius, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, and the rest, to have been wanting in ordinary understanding and discrimination and sound sense, and incapable of distinguishing between what had really come from an apostolic and authoritative source, and something of their own devising and contriving. We may well believe with these men, and with the advocates of true order and right government in the Church in all ages, that, as it is expressed by Tertullian in the passage above cited, "he who was the first bishop had one of the apostles, or of the apostolic men, for his author and predecessor; for in this manner the Apostolic Churches derive their succession."

In another article we propose to add to this argument the testimony of some of the Early Liturgies and Apostolic Constitutions.

E. GOULD.



Contemporary Literature.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

ILLUSTRATED BOOKS.

DR. GOLDSMITH, to whom life brought none too many rewards, should have lived to see Mr. Abbey's glorification of his work. *She Stoops to Conquer** has found an artistic interpreter worthy its fine quality in this illustrator, who has contrived to portray not merely Goldsmith's people in their habit as they lived, but to convey to the eye an image of the age in which they had their being, and to suggest by the use of a thousand devices of his art the flavor of a departed social state. We get a closer feeling of intimacy with the life which these good folk led through the drawings of Mr. Abbey than a stage production could give us, and certainly no reader of the play could create for himself in fancy the atmosphere with which these drawings are animated. In Mr. Abbey are combined a sure and abundant archaeological knowledge, a fertile and creative imagination, and a style of artistic expression extraordinarily well fitted for the kind of work which chiefly busies his attention. If we were to speak of the drawings in detail we should scarce know with which to begin, or rather, we should begin with the dedication and end with the charmingly sketched images of *Mrs. Bulkley* and *Miss Catley* in the act of pronouncing the epilogue. The quality of Mr. Abbey's illustrative faculty is such that we are sure he could make the meanest subject of Rabelais tolerable and even illumine the prose of Anthony Trollope. It is matter for the highest praise, certainly, to have added anything to the lofty character of Dr. Goldsmith's achievement, but the artist has enriched *She Stoops to Conquer* to admiration. Messrs. Harper and Brothers have framed Mr. Abbey's work with

* *She Stoops to Conquer*. By DR. GOLDSMITH. Illustrated by EDWIN A. ABBEY.
New York : Harper & Brothers.

sumptuous liberality and good taste, and the cover seems to us not less than the most admirable and fitting binding that has been given a volume of this sort within our memory. The book is, indeed, in all ways worthy of the artist, of the publishers, and of the season.

It was a pretty conceit to group a number of child faces in a volume such as Frank French has put forth,* and the verses of Margaret E. Sangster form a happy accompaniment. The faces have been studied from life and from photographs, and have a realistic quality, but Mr. French has contrived some clever decorative fancies with which to surround them, and the effect is agreeable. The volume needs no commendation to those who have home fairies of their own, and it is for them, of course, that the book was made. Mr. French has caught with singular success the innocent and winsome expression of the childish face ; it would have been easy to fall into the common vice of representing the subjects he has chosen as so many expressionless dolls, useful to hang pretty frocks upon ; but this danger has been, for the most part, cleverly avoided. One or two of the twenty little folk are perhaps a trifle overdressed, and occasionally there are traces of the photographic origin of some of the designs, but, on the whole, the result is fortunate in the extreme. The book is very handsomely made.

Clara Erskine Clement has cast into the form of stories brief but sufficient accounts of the lives of the great artists of the world.† Mrs. Clement is known as a capable writer upon the subject of art, and she has made a serviceable book, as well as an extremely interesting one. Within the compass of about three hundred and fifty pages she has included sketches of the important artists of all lands, beginning with the old masters and ending with those of the day of Turner and Landseer. The book is handsomely made, and profusely illustrated with portraits of the artists whose struggles and romances Mrs. Clement writes of, and with engravings from their paintings. One or two of the illustrations from the pen of Alfred Brennan have a special character and distinction.

* *Home Fairies and Heart Flowers* : Twenty Studies of Children's Heads. By FRANK FRENCH, accompanied by poems by MARGARET E. SANGSTER. New York : Harper & Brothers.

† *Art and Artists*. By CLARA ERSKINE CLEMENT. Illustrated. Boston : Ticknor & Co.

Supported by the enterprise of Messrs. Ticknor & Co., A. V. S. Anthony has made a beautiful companion volume to *The Lady of the Lake*, illustrated under his supervision and published a year ago. A poem dealing with the days of chivalry, and moving in the romantic atmosphere of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*,* offers a promising opportunity for the illustrator, and Mr. Anthony's assistants in the undertaking of interpreting and beautifying Sir Walter's famous narrative in verse have accomplished their task with as gratifying results as one would expect. The drawings are spirited and truthful, and in the best sense illustrative of their theme. The artists, W. St. John Harper, E. H. Garrett, F. Myrick, F. T. Merrill, and L. S. Ipsen have worked harmoniously together in the production of a notable example of fine book-making. The engraving is of the quality we have learned to look for in American work of this sort, and the effect of its excellence is enhanced by skilful printing and the use of the best paper. The cover seems to us the least successful feature of this admirable volume.

Mr. John D. Champlin has written a pleasant account of his drive with Mr. Andrew Carnegie by coach across England.† The journey lasted from June 9 until June 21, 1884, and we are quite ready to believe that the jolly party which made it enjoyed it heartily. We do not understand, however, why the sights and incidents of the tour should be thought worthy of public record, the first being familiar through numerous books of travel, and the second having been enlarged upon by Mr. Carnegie himself in one or two amiable and not uninteresting volumes. Mr. Champlin performs his task creditably, but nothing less than a very special literary faculty — like that with which Mr. Howells, for instance, contrives to glorify the prosaic events of travel — could justify the rehearsal of the commonplace pleasures and accidents of this tour.

MISS PHELPS's nervous and high-strung style comports well with the sort of story she has chosen to tell in *The Madonna*

* *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. SIR WALTER SCOTT. Illustrated. Drawn, engraved, and printed under the supervision of A. V. S. ANTHONY. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

† *Chronicle of the Coach*, Charing Cross to Ilfracombe. By JOHN DENISON CHAMPLIN, JR. Illustrated by EDWARD L. CHICHESTER. New York: Charles Scribners' Sons.

*of the Tubs.** It is a singularly pathetic idyl of a Massachusetts fishing town. The habit of dropping from the cloudland of the ideal to the bare and pitiless world of reality, which seems to please Miss Phelps, though sometimes surprising, not to say alarming, has a delightful effect of keeping the balance true between the romance of reality and the reality of romance. At all events, she wins us to belief in the possibility of thoughts, ambitions, and passions above the every-day circumstance of squalor with which she surrounds her practical work-a-day heroine. Perhaps, for all the sordid detail, Miss Phelps throws a glamour about the facts of her tale which life would not; but Dickens did the same, and we wept with him, and we are not sure that the popular voice would not be found favorable rather to the glamour than to the facts, if one must be subordinated to the other in fiction. The heroine, Mary Jane Salt, is the most genuine creation of the story; but her rough husband is strongly outlined, and her crippled son, who might easily have failed to be more than a conventional property of romance, is a vital personage. The illustrations which accompany the text are fortunate in conception and execution.

Our delightful old friends the Peterkins † are with us again in double force to enliven the New Year with their unconscious absurdities. Elizabeth Eliza, Agamemnon, Solomon John, the Lady from Philadelphia, and the rest, were brilliant finds of Miss Hale, and the humor, touched with good sense, which she has used in following them through their adventures, has rescued them as characters from the merely ridiculous, and the performance as a whole from the danger of simple fun-making. These good folk, though exaggerated, are genuine types of character, and Miss Hale has not forgotten to be true to the essential quality of their natures, while she pursues her drollery. The earlier Peterkin Papers continue to be popular, as is shown by the issue of this second edition, which Messrs. Ticknor & Co. have put forth in handsome form, with the addition of a

* *The Madonna of the Tubs.* By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. Illustrated by Ross Turner and George H. Clements. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

† *The Last of the Peterkins, with Others of their Kin.* By LUCRETIA P. HALE. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

The Peterkin Family. By LUCRETIA P. HALE. With illustrations. Second edition. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

fresh chapter. We have, moreover, from another firm of publishers, the final record of the Peterkins, who having, as the author says, ventured to leave their native land, never return. The chapters on Mrs. Peterkins in Egypt and Mrs. Peterkins' swoon on the Great Pyramid are as clever as any of their predecessors, while the remaining romances of adventure which Miss Hale has invented for the family are not below the standard of the earlier tales. Those who made the acquaintance of the Peterkins at home will give themselves a pleasure in following the curious haps which befall them abroad, as well as informing themselves about the doings of "others of their kin."

Mrs. Pennell's account* of the tour she made with her husband on a tandem tricycle through Italy is not unworthy of preservation in the form of a book; and Mr. Pennell's illustrations, which the *Century* printed a short time since in connection with his wife's record, we are very glad to see put between covers of their own. The simple, powerful, and original style of working in black and white, which this young artist has discovered for himself, achieves very notable effects at its best. His treatment of the radiant Italian sunlight as it falls upon the scenes which he chose for illustration upon his journey is peculiarly striking. One would scarcely believe that sunniness could be made to so thoroughly pervade sketches in mere pen and ink.

M. Arnaud's happy thought, *One Day in a Baby's Life*,† has been freely translated and adapted for another audience by Susan Coolidge, and in this form is likely to recommend itself to those for whom little folks' literature is made. The story is very sufficiently—even bounteously—told by the illustrations, which, like Miss Gerson's, are examples of the widespread influence of Kate Greenaway's labors. The pictures are gay and fanciful, and harmoniously colored.

Virginia Gerson has illustrated Clement Moore's *A Visit from Saint Nicholas*,‡ and the publishers have given her work a pretty

* *Two Pilgrims' Progress.* By JOSEPH and ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

† *One Day in a Baby's Life.* From the French of M. ARNAUD. Adapted by SUSAN COOLIDGE. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

‡ *A Visit from Saint Nicholas.* By CLEMENT C. MOORE. Illustrated by VIRGINIA GERSON. New York: White, Stokes & Allen.

dress. The illustrations are printed for the most part in those soft and unpronounced colors which make so much of the beauty of Kate Greenaway's blithe and lightsome pictures. Miss Ger-son's drawings are graceful ; but in an endeavor to prettify her subjects she has missed the character, and especially the humor and jollity, that lies in this justly famous versification of the taking legend of Santa Claus.

The annual bound volume of *The English Illustrated Magazine** comes to remind us that not quite all the fine magazine illustration is done in this country. It is filled with beautiful pictures about which it would be easy to grow enthusiastic, if there were no American examples of what modern art can do in this direction ; and even remembering the evidence of native talent, so profusely set before us monthly by our own periodicals, we can admire this lavishly well-made magazine. If we were to institute comparisons between the *English Illustrated* and our leading monthlies in detail, we would have to emulate the complacent English habit where other questions are at issue (we believe they concede the superior excellence of our magazine illustration), and leave the palm at home. Mr. Harry Furniss is, for instance, an extremely clever depicter of every-day people in a sketchy way, which has truth and animation to recommend it, but Mr. Reinhart is not approachable in this field ; Mr. H. R. Robertson achieves some delightfully mellow effects in landscape illustration, but Mr. Harry Fenn, not to go farther, easily excels him in this field ; Mr. Hugh Thompson has an admirable touch in picturing eighteenth century folk, but surely Mr. Abbey is supreme here beyond any chance of rivalry, — and so, if we were not conscious that an impartial catalogue would cause the wings of the national bird to flap ungracefully, we might continue. We must not forget, however, while the national modesty is concealing her mantling blushes, how notable and successful an enterprise the *English Illustrated* is, viewed from the standpoint of all previous enterprises of a like sort in England. Its excellence, when we recall earlier British efforts in this way, is no less than remarkable ; good taste, coupled with careful editorial supervision and the most liberal use of money, have created a magazine which England may

* *The English Illustrated Magazine.* New York and London : Macmillan & Co. 1886.

very well, in one of her infrequent self-laudatory moods, point to with justifiable pride. It is no worse, but all the better, from the publishing and editorial point of view, that it cannot be an interesting magazine for American readers ; it is made for the English people, and those who know their Matthew Arnold will believe that the mental food set before them by the *English Illustrated* is provided by a skilled and judicious editorial caterer. The thing which strikes the American reader most, we think, after he has accepted and admired the sagacity with which the needs, likes, and prejudices of the great British public are met by this fine magazine, is the careful abstinence from the treatment of what we call " Timely Topics."

The publishers put forth their yearly volume in handsome form, with red edges, and a cover on which is stamped the design used monthly for the magazine. The design is effective on cloth. As to the typographical excellence of the volume it is only necessary to say that it issues from the Macmillan press.

Miss S. B. Skelding has illustrated a number of poems upon flowers with a certain skill and faithfulness, and her book, which she has chosen to call *Flowers from Dell and Bower*,* has been given every advantage of fine paper, careful printing, and accuracy in the reproduction of the delicate flower hues. It is Mr. Howells, we believe, who says that "a slushy title often sells a picture," and if the observation may be held to apply to books, we cannot see why *Flowers from Dell and Bower* should ever cease to sell. The poems are well chosen, and exhibit a catholic taste, the selections ranging from Shakespeare to Lucy Larcom. Several fac-similes of the original manuscripts of the poems quoted add to the interest of the book ; among them are Helen Jackson's dainty verses on the arbutus.

With the collaboration of Fidelia Bridges Miss Skelding has made three other gift-books on a similar plan, using poems upon birds as subjects for illustration. The publishers' part in these volumes is handsomely done, and they are judiciously gotten up for their purpose, which, it must be remembered, is to make books salable to those who purchase to give to some one

* *Flowers from Dell and Bower.* Illustrated by SUSIE BARSTOW SKELDING. New York : White, Stokes & Allen.

else; from this point of view we are ready enough to forgive even the titles,* and we can honestly commend the lively and excellently colored bird illustrations.

We should think better of Miss Thomas's *The Round Year*† if we could relieve our minds of the sense (not very pointed, but in some degree annoying) that the book is the result of a series of set interviews with nature. Sometimes we seem to see the writer going forth to make "copy" out of the woods, the fields, the streams, the flowers, the birds, and the weather. This gives to her otherwise charming talks an atmosphere which we accept more amiably in the lucubrations of the familiar English traveller, who travels not to travel, but to write a book. The Englishman, save when he deals with the American Girl, or other matters of taste, has lost his power to do anything but amuse us: the Census Bureau has furnished us with a thick epidermis of statistics, and our once sensitive democracy is now "triumphant democracy." But those who gossip for us about nature must seek their material not so much in facts as in impressions; and as we have no statistics, but only other impressions for use as a standard, and as, moreover, nothing is more personal to ourselves than our feeling toward nature, we are easily rasped by anything like a bookish or insincere interpretation of her. Miss Thomas evidently has a most genuine love and enthusiasm for nature, but we find her expression of them more fortunate in poetry than in prose; the touch of artificiality — it is only a touch — in *The Round Year* is probably to be imputed to the fact that, verse being her natural language, she is in danger of writing, not prose interfused with the spirit of poetry (than which nothing could be more admirable in this field), but prose-poetry (than which nothing could be less desirable in any field).

The writer of *A New Year's Masque*‡ is too conscientious as

* *Songsters of the Branches.* Illustrated by FIDELIA BRIDGES and SUSIE BARSTOW SKELDING. New York: White, Stokes & Allen.

Birds of Meadow and Grove. Illustrated by FIDELIA BRIDGES and SUSIE BARSTOW SKELDING. New York: White, Stokes & Allen.

Songs of Birds. Illustrated by FIDELIA BRIDGES and SUSIE BARSTOW SKELDING. New York: White, Stokes & Allen.

† *The Round Year.* By EDITH M. THOMAS. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

‡ *A New Year's Masque* and other Poems. By EDITH M. THOMAS. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

well as too thoroughly instructed an artist, however, to fail often where taste can guide her, and we have too high a respect for the lofty purpose, the exquisite insight, the honest sympathy with all true and good and natural things, which inform Miss Thomas's work, as a whole, to question her small faults too curiously. We note the seeming insincerity pervading *The Round Year* unhesitatingly, because we know that at bottom no one is more sincere than Miss Thomas, and that a better artistic impulse is sure to correct, in the calm and favorable future which her genius prophesies for her, all foibles which now mis-speak her best self.

The power to observe nature and to set forth the fruits of her observation engagingly, the illuminating faculty which enables Miss Thomas to bring before us not only the things which she sees, but the essence of those rare and intimate poetic moods begotten by them, the kindling imagination and fresh enthusiasm going hand in hand with the strict and faithful eye for the facts of nature, which furnish her material, give a special and exalted place to the author of *The Round Year* among writers in the same field. John Burroughs, for instance, needs fear no rival as an accurate observer and a shrewd deducer of the logic of his observations; Thoreau won something which served him as a system of philosophy from the secrets which the earth tells to her accepted lovers, and philosophised the woods about Concord as *Jacques* philosophised the Forest of Arden; Grant Allen's talks about nature are never less than thoroughly well informed, thoughtful, penetrating disquisitions, with a fragrance of their own: but Miss Thomas, lacking Burroughs's logic, Thoreau's philosophy, and Allen's science, and being, withal, fresh to the study in which they are post-graduates, is strong in that faculty which gives a deeper truthfulness to the scientist's truth, and has a word of better comfort and power for us than even logic and philosophy, — we mean the poet's faculty. Some share of this, every successful interpreter of nature must have, and surely Burroughs, Thoreau, and Allen have it in no mean measure, but none of them are poets, though all so excellent and so interesting in their several ways. It is Miss Thomas's good fortune to be both naturalist and poet, and when she has taught herself the simple and natural manner which is the possession of all the noble company of her predecessors in this field, and has learned to quiet the nervous and

bustling habit of style which now belies her sane and contemplative habit of mind, she will add unmistakably important contributions to a form of literature which we are glad to observe is growing in favor among us.

BIOGRAPHY.

There seems to be at the present time a keen public appetite for personal memoirs, in which a place shall be found for the gossip, the anecdotes, and sometimes even the scandals of the coterie in Society in which the narrator moved, or of the profession to which he belonged. Queens, privy councillors, judges, lawyers, bishops, priests, and laymen have all contributed to indulge this popular taste. Books of this kind at the best are intended only to occupy in a pleasing manner an idle hour, or to relieve a mind wearied with too much thought by distracting its attention temporarily from pressing cares. In judging of such books this purpose should be borne in mind. Those which, however deficient in other respects, best attain this end are the best writings of this class.

We have before us a volume of such a kind, *Records of an Active Life*,* which covers a period of time full of events of exceeding interest to an American Churchman. It does not, however, profess to give a history of these events, but only the desultory recollections of one who took part in various measures and occupations intended to promote the interests and growth of the Church. No attempt has been made to fill out these recollections and make them complete. They are therefore marked by many gaps and half statements which lead the reader to wish that the writer had gone more fully into these different matters. Some of these omissions were intentional, through fear of wounding the feelings of those actors in the scenes still surviving, but most of them simply because they had escaped recollection at the time of writing. Instances of this lapse of memory we find in the statement that in 1860 there were three candidates for the Presidency, the writer forgetting that Breckinridge had been nominated by one portion of the Democrats. Again he speaks of Vice-President Colfax presiding at a meeting of the Christian Commission during Lincoln's administration.

* *Records of an Active Life.* By HEMAN DYER, D. D. New York : Thomas Whittaker. 1886.

Dr. Dyer's book is marked throughout by a straightforward honesty in the expression of his views in the religious conflicts of the day. In this he does not spare himself, so that even where, subsequently, if he had not in some measure modified his views he would at least have expressed them in milder language, he quotes his thoughts and declarations from *memoranda* made at the time.

The recollections of the author exhibit a sturdy patriotism. When he visits the House of Lords in England he expresses his deep disappointment. "As compared with the United States Senate it falls very far below it. The appearance of the members is by no means equal to that of the Senators, and the speaking bears no comparison." "I do not believe that any body in the world contains more intelligence or ability than the Senate of the United States." Yet he fails not to see the ridiculous points of self-glorification even in Americans. On his first visit to Plymouth Rock he says: "Of course, we felt the inspiration of the occasion and reverently bowed our heads. But the fun of the thing was, the stone was so small that not more than one man and a half could have stood on it at a time." "We were told that about one half of the stone had been removed to Pilgrim Hall for safe-keeping. This was well, for it would indeed be a sad calamity to the country and the world, should the sacred institution of Plymouth Rock by any means disappear. It would be the destruction of nearly half of our literature." Again, when he was in Washington, during the war, "the army of the Potomac was lying a few miles from the city across the Potomac River; and between it and the headquarters of the commanding general, McClellan, there was a continuous stream of officers of all ranks." "The way they spurred their horses and clattered their swords would lead a green one, like myself, to think a mighty battle was about to commence. Nothing of the kind; this was an every-day performance for weeks, and signified nothing but a little cheap pomp and display."

The book will serve to recall many sad and many exciting hours to those who can remember the events of the last thirty years, and it contains numerous items of interest to the younger generation.

HISTORY.

The history of the Israelites is in a very striking manner connected with Egypt and Babylon. They went forth in triumph from the former to establish a kingdom whose renown under Solomon extended to distant regions. By the latter they were reduced again to captivity, and, though finally liberated, sank into insignificance as a people. As might be anticipated, through the entire duration of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah there were many points of contact with their powerful neighbors on the east and on the south. Much has been done of late years to illustrate sacred history by delving into the archives of these ancient empires. In such labors the name of George Rawlinson occupies a conspicuous place of well-merited esteem. This author has recently put forth a volume, *Egypt and Babylon*,* in which the Biblical notices of these countries are compared with such historical accounts from ancient heathen writers as have reached our day, and with the monumental inscriptions and other remains of antiquity that throw light upon the manners and daily life of the early inhabitants of those territories.

This volume is an enlargement, and a correction up to date, of those parts of a previous work, *Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament*, that related to Egypt and Babylon. There is, therefore, some repetition from the earlier publication, but the book possesses a freshness and interest from greater fulness of detail, and from the introduction of new matter that more recent research has brought to light. Later discoveries have caused the author in some points to modify or reverse the views expressed in the earlier work. In the *Historical Illustrations* he says: "The hypothesis that 'Darius the Mede' is the Astyages of Herodotus and Ctesias, which has been maintained by many critics, solves the chief difficulties of Daniel's narrative, while it harmonises with the expression in Abydenus." Other arguments in favor of this hypothesis are also adduced. In *Egypt and Babylon*, however, he says: "The position of Darius the Median, as a subject-king set up by Cyrus, has been widely accepted; but critics have not been content to rest at this point.

* *Egypt and Babylon from Sacred and Profane Sources*. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Attempts have been made to identify him further with some person celebrated in history ; and it has been suggested that he was either Astyages, the last Median monarch, or his supposed son Cyaxares. Neither identification can be substantiated." "It seems best to acquiesce in the view of those who hold that 'Darius the Mede is an historical character,' but one 'whose name has not yet been found except in Scripture.'"

The author takes up in detail first the notices of Babylon in the various books of the Old Testament, and then those of Egypt, and brings in corroboration of their statements such assertions and allusions as he can glean from the scanty remains of ancient records, and from what is known of the character of the native population and the nature of the countries which they occupied. Many striking coincidences are thus brought to light, all tending to confirm the general historic accuracy of the Old Testament documents.

The author gives also the latest information and conclusion on some disputed points of topography, such as the position of Migdol, Pi-hahiroth, and Baal-zephon, and the store cities of Pithom and Rameses, and what water was meant by the Red Sea, or *Yam Suph*, which the Israelites crossed. On this last point he enters upon an elaborate discussion of the hypothesis of Dr. Brugsch, that the *Yam Suph*, or "Sea of Weeds," was Lake Serbonis, a long and narrow piece of water parallel to the coast of the Mediterranean, and opening into the latter at its eastern extremity. "The authority of its propounder was great, his acquaintance with the ancient geography of Egypt unrivalled, and his argument conducted with extreme skill and ingenuity ; it was not to be wondered at, therefore, that his views obtained for a time very general credence." The hypothesis of Brugsch, Rawlinson considers "has been completely disposed of by Mr. Greville Chester," whose various arguments are given in full. The book contains a complete but concise account of that present status of the Biblical historical notices that touch upon Egypt and Babylon.

Pride of ancestry is an emotion very easily excited and very difficult to eradicate. It is confined to no country and to no class of men. It exists quite as strongly in a democracy as in an aristocracy ; and perhaps in either class of government exhibits itself even more obtrusively where there is less reason on

other grounds to claim distinction. The book entitled *The Making of New England** is saturated through and through with this spirit.

One would think, upon reading this book, that the entire United States had been formed and developed by the descendants of the first settlers of New England, and fashioned according to their pattern. The author, in his preface, distinctly makes this claim. "To know how these men lived is to know the secret process by which the New England character was so moulded as eventually to become a national force as well as type." So far from true is this assertion, that the type of character in the Middle States, the nearest neighbors to New England, is essentially distinct; while in the West, and in the South, the difference is still more marked. Such claims appear somewhat vainglorious when we compare the small area of New England and her scanty population with the vast extent and the millions of people of the rest of our country, whose inhabitants would no doubt have been just what they are had New England never existed.

The pride with which so many New Englanders look to their Puritan ancestors would be more intelligible if they were careful themselves to adhere to those distinguishing traits which they profess to admire in their forefathers. There is, however, in many points, religious, political, and social, a very striking contrast; so that we can imagine that if one of those old Puritans were to rise from his grave he would most unsparingly anathematise his would-be laudators.

To the old Puritan his religion was everything. Not only did every other interest give place to it, but there was no other interest. He was severe and exact in every religious observance. Attendance upon public worship was rigorously exacted. "Each Sabbath a constable went the round of the plantation to hunt up all who absented themselves from meeting. If they could give no good excuse, they were punished." At the present day, however, there is a general lamentation over the small number of those who attend religious worship of any kind; while all New England is applauding the authorities of Harvard in making attendance on the chapel services a voluntary matter. The strictest orthodoxy was rigidly required. Quakers, Bap-

* *The Making of New England, 1880-1643.* By SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

tists, and Churchmen were alike banished and driven into the wilderness. At the present day the far larger portion of the descendants of the Puritans are avowed Unitarians.

In political affairs "the Puritan colonists decided that none but members of their own Church should be made freemen of the colony. By their charter freemen only were allowed to vote or hold office. Unless, therefore, he were a member of one of the churches, a colonist could have no share in public affairs. He was a citizen without political rights." "As only Puritan churches were permitted, the colonists had set up a Puritan State of which the Church was the corner-stone." The sentiments and political action of the descendants of the Puritans are, in this relation also, in violent contrast with those of their forefathers.

In the social life of the Puritans the strictest sumptuary laws were enforced, and a perpetual oversight of each individual maintained. "No one could settle among them, or go out of the colony without leave obtained of the authorities." Cards and dice and the use of tobacco were forbidden, and also "the wearing of lace, points, ruffs, or slashed sleeves." Cruel punishments were inflicted, such as whipping, "branding with a hot iron, and slitting or boring the ears." "After a time owning slaves became a common practice with all who could afford it." None at the present day would resist the establishment of such laws and regulations of the social life with greater determination than the direct descendants of those colonists.

It is therefore utterly unintelligible that they, who by their wide departure from the religious, political, and social ideas of their forefathers have stamped those ideas as narrow-minded and unwise, should be so continually lauding the "Pilgrim Fathers." Men seek to imitate those whom they really admire, but it would be difficult to find a single principle of action common to the first Puritan settlers and their present representatives. Those settlers, so far from having "become a national force as well as type," did not impress a permanent type of religious and political thought even upon New England itself.

The typography of the book is excellent, and the numerous illustrations are well drawn, though many of them are trivial and undeserving of a place in a manual that aspires to hold a position above a mere child's school-book, "between the larger and the lesser histories."

In this comparatively new country a century seems a long period. Institutions which have endured for that length of time appear to be thoroughly established, and all the events connected with their founding to be well worthy of commemoration. We have had a series of political centennial celebrations, and now those connected with Church history are beginning to be observed. The last meeting of the Convention of the Diocese of New York was regarded as the centennial of its existence, and was marked by suitable services and historical discourses. An account of this commemoration, together with addresses delivered, and other documents, exhibiting the growth of the Church in the State and Diocese of New York, has been published in a handsome volume,* under the direction of a committee appointed by the Convention.

The volume contains: 1. The Proceedings at Trinity Church in the morning of the 30 of September, the opening day of the Convention, at which service a commemorative sermon was preached by Dr. Wm. J. Seabury; 2. The Proceedings at S. Thomas's Church in the evening, when a historical essay and addresses were delivered by Dr. De Costa, Bishop Coxe, Bishop Doane, and Bishop Littlejohn; 3. Sketches of the Bishops of New York, Diocesan, Provisional, and Assistant, seven in all; 4. Parish Histories; 5. Institutions of Learning and Charity; and 6. Church Literature of the Century.

A great deal of very important and interesting matter is embraced in these papers, and many facts in the early history of the Church are rescued from oblivion by their publication in this volume. It must have required a great deal of patient research and careful inquiry to have gleaned so much in reference to Church movements and organisations in the early part of the century. For this the Church owes a debt of gratitude to General Wilson, the editor of the volume, and those who have coöperated with him. The difficulty of gathering such material from files of old newspapers, where only much of it can be found, is exemplified by errors of detail in a few instances. The fact that many hands were occupied in producing the various papers has also introduced some contradictions. To one of these the editor has called attention in a foot-note, and has given a partial

* *The Centennial History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York, 1785-1885.* Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1886.

correction. The writer of the article on the Church of the Holy Communion claimed that it was "the first free church in this country." The Church of the Epiphany was organised in 1833, and the writer of the sketch of that parish says, "this was the first free church in the city." In the article on the City Mission Society, we read, "S. Mary's, Manhattanville, was the oldest free church, and the Church of the Nativity was the next in order." In the same article the Church of the Epiphany, the Holy Evangelists, and S. Matthew's are all placed later. The true order in the list of free churches is as follows: First stands the Church of the Holy Evangelists. The City Mission Society, under whose auspices this congregation was established, was organised in the middle of October, 1831, and the building in Vandewater Street purchased a few weeks afterwards. The *Churchman* of November 5, 1831, has a notice of this purchase, and that the Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler had been appointed missionary. From his first quarterly report, contained in the *Churchman* of March 17, 1832, we find that he entered on his duties December 8, 1831. The second free church, according to the dates given in the *Centennial History*, would be S. Mary's, Manhattanville. The third was the Church of the Epiphany. The public notice for the organisation of this parish is contained in the *Churchman* of January 12, 1833. The service for this purpose was appointed for the "next Sunday" (January 13), "at the Long Room No. 67 North Street (now Houston), fronting the First Avenue." In the *Churchman* of March 2, 1833, is contained the notice of the removal of the Rev. Lot Jones from Massachusetts, to take charge of the Church of the Epiphany. The church building, however, was not consecrated till June 28, 1838. The fourth free church appears to have been S. Paul's, Brooklyn. The following is an extract from Bishop Onderdonk's convention address in 1835: "Tuesday, June 30, consecrated S. Paul's Free Church, Brooklyn." "The congregation are supposed, by their voluntary subscriptions and contributions, to support the establishment, which has a vestry of its own under a legal organisation, in whom the property of the building is vested, with the power of settling a clergyman, and with all other usual parochial privileges." The fifth free church was the Nativity, New York. It seems to have been organised about the same time as S. Paul's, Brooklyn. In the *Churchman* of February 27, 1836, there is a brief account of the origin of

this parish. "It is now about two years since the first efforts were made for the establishment of our Church in that district." "In five months from the time the Sunday School was first opened, the Church of the Nativity was regularly organised." "Very soon the vestry took measures for the erection of the present chapel. It was completed in the summer of 1834. The expense of the building and lots was defrayed by the accustomed liberality of Trinity Church, together with the private subscriptions of some of the wealthier members of our communion." "This is an *entirely free* Church." In the same periodical of July 4, 1835, we find that the Rev. W. F. Walker was ordained deacon on June 28, and called by the vestry of the church to be their rector. Mr. Walker had previously officiated while still a student in the Theological Seminary. The first church was burned in 1836. The corner-stone for the new building was laid March 18, 1838, and the church consecrated by Bishop Ives in 1846.

The sixth free church was S. Matthew's Mission in Christopher Street. The building for this congregation was bought and consecrated in 1842. The Rev. Jesse Pound was for many years the missionary. The seventh free church was the Holy Communion, organised in 1844.

Four of these churches were independent parochial corporations, and these all survive at the present day. Three were mission churches, of which two have become defunct.

Other inaccuracies of minor importance may be found in this volume. But after all, these defects detract but little from the value of the book. The sermon, addresses, and historical essays will possess a permanent interest that will only increase in the lapse of time.

The sermon of Dr. Seabury reviews the principles upon which the government of the Church in this country was based. The founders of this system wisely established that which the spirit and temper of the times would permit, trusting to the good sense of future days, when a churchly spirit should more largely prevail, to amend that which was defective. The event fully justified this confidence.

It would not be an unjust criticism of the first steps in our organisation to say that the Churchmen of that period were disposed to lay somewhat too much stress upon the rule that the Bishops should do nothing without them, and somewhat too little upon the converse that

they should do nothing without the Bishop. But certainly in the past century there has been a steady tendency towards the recognition and statement of the fact that there are powers of government, distinct from mere functions, inherent in the Episcopal office, and not derived to the Bishops as the mere executives of conventional will.

The sermon also glances at the influence which the Diocese of New York has exercised over the whole Church. This influence was largely due to the commanding position as regards Church principles and Church work which was assumed under the guiding hands of such Bishops as Hobart, Onderdonk, and Horatio Potter.

The addresses by the Bishops at S. Thomas's Church are replete with early memories of New York. Bishop Coxe, though born in New Jersey, was a resident of New York city from the age of two years. He gives us many vivid glimpses of the men and scenes of fifty years ago. Especially affecting is his account of the funeral of Bishop Hobart, of which he was an eye-witness, and his full-hearted eulogy of Bishop Whittingham, then rector of S. Luke's, New York, and prominent in urging the division of the first Diocese.

Dr. De Costa, in his essay, reviews the history of the Colonial Church, giving in detail the various steps taken to secure the episcopate for this country, and continues the history of the Diocese very briefly down to the consecration of the present Assistant Bishop.

The engravings of the Bishops are excellent as likenesses as well as works of art. The volume presents a handsome appearance, and constitutes a valuable and worthy memorial of the Centennial of the Diocese of New York.

The buried cities of ancient times have a mysterious attraction for the learned and the unlearned. In addition to the charm of discovery there is the revelation of manners and customs altogether different from those of the present day, and many works of art are unearthed which display a skill in sculpture, in engraving, in designing and coloring that cannot be equalled at the present day. That which no doubt excites the greatest interest is, however, the finding of numerous inscriptions in ancient and long-forgotten languages, written in unknown characters. Beside the importance of these in a linguistic and philosophical point of view, they serve to clear up many difficulties in

ancient history, and fill up gaps that have long been a cause of regret to the historian. The better knowledge of both the customs and the history of those ancient cities, gained by recent excavations and discoveries, has emphasised the fact that each has a character of its own, and that its rise, progress, and decay depended largely upon that character. Each one of these cities, therefore, points a moral for the warning and guidance of other communities. To some of these morals the attention of the public has been invited in a book entitled *Ancient Cities from the Dawn to the Daylight*.*

The local descriptions in this book are exceedingly well drawn, presenting a vivid and life-like picture to the mind. The approach to the city of Petra, for instance, "the abrupt precipices, the wild gorges, the fertile valleys, the narrow chasm through which the guiding stream makes its way, the scarlet oleanders fringing the path, the ferns and trailing creepers, the bridge spanning the chasm, and finally the temple with its Corinthian columns hewn in the face of the cliff, the huge theatre and the precipitous height honeycombed with dwellings or tombs, are all made to pass before the inward gaze as the shifting scenes of a vast panorama. Yet, after all the outward magnificence of these rock-hewn buildings, they formed a city of shams." "Whatever else future explorations may disclose, one fact is certain: the splendor of these mysterious structures was wholly on the outside. Within they were pitiful hovels."

In these long-buried cities have been found numerous indications that monotheism preceded polytheism. "At the period when Ur emerges into history, her religion was a system of magic passing into polytheism. But there are early traces of a school which worshipped one supreme God. There are indications, also, of a fierce conflict of religions in southern Babylonia. It may well be that Abraham was driven into exile on account of his monotheistic convictions." So, too, the numerous inscriptions found in the tombs of Memphis, the city of the dead, show how "the religion of Egypt moulded her history. It began with a lofty conception of the unity of God, and its earliest literature expresses an ethical spirit which will at times bear comparison with the Psalms of David. It ended in a polytheism the most extravagant and abject."

* *Ancient Cities from the Dawn to the Daylight.* By WILLIAM BURNET WRIGHT, Pastor of the Berkeley Street Church, Boston. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886.

As one example out of many instances in which obscure points of history have been cleared up by explorations in ancient cities, we may quote the following: "The Bible affirms that the king of Assyria carried Manasseh in chains to *Babylon*. But Babylon was not the capital of Assyria, and the statement sounded as if we should read that Napoleon carried his prisoners to London. Before the critics had ceased emphasising this supposed inaccuracy of Scripture, the monuments revealed that one and one only in the long line of Assyrian kings had made Babylon a royal residence, and held court there during a part of every year. This king, the same Esar-haddon, was the monarch who was said in the Bible to have transported Manasseh from Jerusalem." A similar confirmation of several other historical notices in the Scripture, hitherto unsupported or even contradicted by secular historians, has been obtained by recent discoveries in buried cities, such as that Belshazzar was king on the night in which Babylon was captured; the existence of the Hittites as a powerful empire; the deliverance of Syria by Naaman; the sale of Hebrew slaves by the Tyrians to the Assyrians in the time of Joel, etc.

The author takes up in succession thirteen ancient cities, and after noting the most important events in their history, and the light which is thrown upon the habits of their daily life and upon their political aims by recent discoveries in the East, draws from each its lesson of wisdom for the present day.

The last two chapters are on the New Jerusalem. This organisation has exerted and is exerting an influence in the world that cannot be explained except upon the hypothesis of a Divine origin, and that the miracles which attested the mission of JESUS CHRIST were true.

That JESUS did not rise from the dead, and that He wrought no miracles, may be safely conceded to any man who will, without the resurrection and without the miracles, adequately explain the place held by JESUS CHRIST to-day. By denying miracles we only make miracles of the conceded facts. Before us stands a column overtopping by an immeasurable altitude every other pedestal on earth. No stairway winds around it. No ladder made by hands has ever reached so high. Upon it stands the man we once saw sitting by the well, wearied with his journey. How did he get there? We are told he has no wings. Miracles are only wings which help us to explain the facts we are impotent to deny.

ETHICS.

The great Problem of Physiology is the phenomenon of life ; the battle-ground of Metaphysics is on the line which separates or does not separate the subject and the object. In the Science of Morals all schools diverge at one point, — the question of the Basis of Morals. Where are we to find an adequate basis for the postulates of Ethical theory ?

In his *Types of Ethical Theory* * Dr. Martineau reviews with singular learning and acuteness the wide field of speculation, ancient and modern, on this subject.

To constitute a moral act, there must first of all be granted alternative courses of action presented to the agent ; secondly, a standard by which he can discern the higher from the lower course ; thirdly, a sense of duty or obligation impelling him to choose the higher ; and finally, a power of free will, by which the course elected may be taken.

Again, with regard to the origin of our basis of Morals, the radical difference between opposing schools is on the question, Do we obtain our Moral Standard within the area of personal self-consciousness, or must we resort to some other source to find it ? The first of these theories Dr. Martineau styles Idiopsychological, or Heteropsychological, in proportion as it warrants the existence of an original moral sense, or an imported moral sense, imported, that is, into and engrafted on the consciousness of the race. If, on the other hand, conduct at every step is to be regulated by reference to a standard not present in the spirit of man, the theory of Morals which explains his conduct is either metaphysical, as that of Plato, Descartes, Malebranche, and Spinoza, or physical, as that of Comte. But compare the systems of these philosophers with the above description of a moral act.

By making virtue identical with intellectual knowledge, Plato has virtually implied that the ignorant and unenlightened are without the Standard of Morals. Aristotle has left the basis of Ethical conduct indeterminate. Descartes, on the other hand, has made alternative courses of action impossible by the necessity implied in his metaphysical systems, and Malebranche cuts

* *Types of Ethical Theory*. By JAMES MARTINEAU, D. D., LL. D., late Principal of Manchester New College, London. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. New York : Macmillan & Co. 1886.

the sinews of personal liberty by his well-known saying: "We are not agents, but only spectators, even of our own history." When Spinoza affirms that nothing is possible except the actual, he denies the essential postulates of any system of morals. In the positivism of Comte there is no "what should be," "he ties down all thought to what has been, what is, what will be, and treats as folly all ideal alternatives that shame us with the vision of what ought to be."

Heteropsychological theories are discussed with great keenness and dialectic skill in the latter part of the work. Under this head the author disposes of the Hedonism of Hobbes, the Utilitarianism of Bentham, the *Æstheticism* of Hutcheson and Shaftesbury, and the current Hedonism with Evolution of contemporary philosophers.

It rather obscures the symmetry of his treatise that the constructive portion should be sandwiched in between the two main controversial portions. Indeed, the whole of the work, abounding as it does in felicitous refutation and penetrating logic, seems to us in one sense unmethodical. The writer sometimes lingers amid the subtilties of Metaphysics and the fine-spun reasoning of those he is expounding, with all the familiarity indeed, and with all the clearness of vision which belong to an *habitué* of that upper, though misty and highly rarefied atmosphere,—but sometimes so long and so lovingly as almost to lose the thread of his subject. With modern Evolutionists he enters the fight with the gentle courtesy of a chivalric knight-errantry,—but his blows are relentless, and he pierces through helmet and shield with an unerring force, which leaves him apparently master of the field. What more concise or exact statement of the real position of the controversy can be found than is expressed in the following passage, which is also an example of the prevailing discursiveness alluded to above:—

If the Evolutionist means no more than that in point of historic fact Life first appeared in plant-forms on this globe, and was followed by sentient types, passing by innumerable gradations from the most simple organism and function to the present nature of Man, he sets up an hypothesis consistent with the evidence at present within reach of the Naturalist. If he means that he has found, or can suggest, an adequate system of causation for working out this process from beginning to end, he overstates the strength of his hypothesis; which, meeting with a chasm in two places, is broken, as a reasoned scheme, into three pieces, empirically successive, but logically detached. [Vol. ii. p. 401.]

Or the following weighty words:—

The ever-widening conscience of faithful men feels bound in allegiance . . . to pass on from Ethics to Religion. Its moral instincts far transcend mere adaptation, however exact, to existing conditions: it snatches the course of evolution out of the hands of "accidental variation," and the blind groping of tentative adjustment to things as they are, and leads on the open-eyed march to a preconceived and nobler future; and wins "a survival of the fittest," not by opportune accommodation to present data, but by startling creation of unforeseen quæsita. [Vol ii. p. 405.]

How vainly Herbert Spencer writhes in the grasp of a real dialectician, the correspondence appended to the second volume sufficiently indicates.

The constructive portion of the treatise is of course Idiopsychological. Our own moral consciousness with the beliefs it implicitly contains is the ultimate fact in the analysis of a basis of morals. In the details of his theory our author is manifestly eclectic. Perhaps some readers may be disappointed in this, the constructive portion of his work. From Malebranche is borrowed the idea of a preferential scale of worth in actions presented to the mind; from Butler, the idea of a Conscience or final arbiter of the relative moral worth of such possible actions, — while the notion of Duty or obligation as an inherent prompting to pursue the higher is only the categoric Imperative of Kant in a new form. Nothing can exceed the beauty and value of Dr. Martineau's disquisitions upon the enlargement by means of education and experience of the scale, and consequently the standard, of moral worth in its application to possible actions. In short, the brilliant style of this fascinating work forms one of the chief among its many attractions. The author's use of metaphor rivals the art of Plato himself in its aptness, airy wit, poetic felicity, and real illustrative point. Though the book may not crown its author with the glory of inaugurating a new school of Moral Science, it may perhaps serve the present generation better by the genuine support it lends to the Christian theory of Ethics, and the silence it may help to impose upon the illogical logic and unphilosophical philosophy of that modern school which professes its ability to carry a half verified physical theory into the sphere of mind and morals, and refuses to see that there its light goes out like a candle in a vacuum.

Nor would we leave the impression that this work is merely

the reiteration of old dogmas. The pervading spirit of it is fresh, stimulating, and original. If the buttresses have been merely rebuilt here, they may indeed have been rebuilt upon the old foundations, but not only have they been extended so as to forestall new points where breach or total ruin impended, every stone also has been laid with the finished workmanship of a master-builder, and over all they have been adorned with the dazzling fancy and patient elaboration of a consummate artist.

It was Hegel who first made a clear distinction between Psychology and Metaphysics, and defined the domain of each. Yet Psychology has too long been subject to Metaphysical trammels, and the function of the soul been confused with its organisation—to borrow an image from physics. For indeed the new Psychology approaches the study of the soul from the side of its physical *nidus*,—as the old Psychology studied it only in its functional activity, its subjective modes of thinking and feeling. We all know with what passionate patience Herbert Spencer has employed all the latest discoveries of Biology in his attempt to stretch on the rack of his theory of dominating force all the subtlest phenomena of physical activity. The new school in Germany, of which we read an excellent account in the work of M. Ribot,* does not seem to have lent itself to any theory in the matter. Its chief characteristic is that it proposes to study the soul of man through the changes in the physical organisation which accompany changes in physical experience. From all sources data are collected for this important investigation. Biology, ethnology, language, mental and nervous disease, and especially practical experiment, are in turn resorted to. The intervals between the excitation of an image and its perception, or the duration of each accompanying sensation are measured. This branch of the subject, which consists in measuring the duration of psychic acts, is called Psychometry, and the researches of its students already form a small library.

The results of this line of investigation, so far, seem rather curious than practical. Indeed, as Franz Brentano, a distinguished German professor of this school, observes: "We find

* *German Psychology of To-day*; The Empirical School. By TH. RIBOT, Director of the *Revue Philosophique*. Translated from the second French edition, by JAMES MARK BALDWIN, B. A., late Fellow of Princeton College. With a preface by JAMES McCOSH, D. D., LL. D. Lit. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

already the beginnings of a scientific psychology, but modest as yet." Modest, indeed, to judge from the results chronicled by Ribot.

Nor do we expect that physical investigation will ever solve the mystery of mind. Behind all the tremors of nerve and brain molecules, behind the medium over which in swift and ceaseless succession pass series after series of perceptions and sensations, images and feelings, stands the inscrutable Ego. The method of physical science, however, even when attempting to approach fields of phenomena whose character its language has no terms to formulate, brings a salutary influence, and often clears away the mists and distortions which have obscured or perverted the vision of a higher instrument of knowledge. It is hard to see how physical can supplement metaphysical psychology in any other way. The scales and the second-hand can scarcely gauge the rapture of the poet, or the sorrow of the mourner. Professor Tyndall's words do not seem likely to lose their point.

Let the consciousness of love be associated with a right-handed spiral motion of the molecules of the brain, and the consciousness of hate with a left-handed spiral motion, we should then know, when we love, that the motion is in one direction, and when we hate it is in the other, but the *why* would still remain unanswered.

In the *Logic of Introspection*,* we are brought back again to the windy logomachies of the old Psychology; strangely enough the author, forgetful or unmindful of the work of Fechner, Wundt, or Brentano, styles it a new method of Psychology. For this so-called new method he has supplied a name, "The Consciential Method." His book consists of an exposition of Kantian Idealism, but the principal part of it is taken up in controversy. McCosh is violently attacked for his Doctrine of Intuitions, as implying a process of Induction in the formation of a general maxim from a particular instance. Perhaps Dr. Wentworth seems to have misunderstood the term "induction." At any rate we may remind him that it is not usual to quote Bacon as a practical authority in this logical method since the Canons of J. S. Mill became classic as the axioms of the Science. The controversy with McCosh originates in a palpable misconception, and the so-called Consciential Method is also the method of the Principal of Princeton, — πολλῶν δομάτων μία μορφή.

* *The Logic of Introspection.* By Rev. T. B. WENTWORTH, D. D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1886.

Induction is merely a generalisation concerning the unknown or less known, based on our experience of the known. Of this generalisation the "Consciential Method," as in pp. 278, 279, furnishes a pertinent example:—

Whenever the mind perceives a particular material substance, it spontaneously sees and affirms that that particular substance must be in space. Now let any concrete affirmation of this sort be reproduced in self-consciousness, and then submitted to the reflective examination we have above described, and from that single asseveration, relating to an individual object of perception, the Reason instantly constructs the universal and unconditional affirmation that body, that is, all body, must occupy space.

This is, undoubtedly, an act of induction, although of that species styled "*Simplex enumeratio.*"

SCIENCE.

The progress made in the practical development of the science of electricity is remarkable. It has reached such an important position, and bids fair to add so much to the capabilities of human intercourse, and to the possibilities of human action and work, that it is beginning to be regarded as a subject for separate and thorough study in training-schools for scientific work. In at least one college of the land, the foundation of a school of electrical engineering has been already established. A popular account of what has been thus far accomplished by means of electricity has been given in a recent publication, *The Age of Electricity.**

The author declares that "this little book is not a technical treatise, nor is it addressed in any wise to the professional electrician. It is simply an effort to present the leading principles of electrical science, their more important applications, and of these last the stories, in a plain and, it is hoped, a readable way." In judging of this work, its expressed purpose must be kept distinctly in view. The book is exceedingly interesting, and presents a pretty full history of the science, especially in its earlier stages. In the last few years, however, discoveries and inventions have crowded upon each other with such rapidity that the author has been compelled to make numerous omis-

* *The Age of Electricity*, from Amber-Soul to Telephone. By PARK BENJAMIN, Ph. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

sions ; and in his desire to include as much as possible within the reasonable limits of a popular volume, has in many instances given but a passing mention of important applications of electricity. Such mention is sometimes a mere naming, which affords no information and creates no clear idea in the mind of the reader. This course serves at least the practical purpose of an index of subjects, so that the reader, if disposed, can look for information in other special treatises on such points.

The history is interspersed with a number of anecdotes, which not only enliven the narrative, but also illustrate the progress of the science. There is at times, however, an outburst of somewhat turgid rhetoric. While the anecdotes could not well be spared without loss of interest, the rhetoric might much better have been erased. Full justice has been done to the claims of such Americans as have made important discoveries and inventions, and at the same time what is justly due to the credit of foreign inventors and experimenters is not withheld. Thus, while Franklin was the first theoretically to infer the identity of lightning and electricity, and invented an instrument by which the theory could be tested, yet, through letters which he wrote to Europe describing his proposed method, the experiment was actually made with success in France a month before Franklin himself secured a spark from the clouds.

The author brings out the supercilious treatment which some American discoverers and inventors have received from learned societies abroad. When Franklin's letters on electricity were offered to the Royal Society for publication they met "a contemptuous refusal." Some years later, however, the same Royal Society "elected Franklin an honorary member, and decreed him their highest honor, the Copley medal." The original letters were published by private enterprise, and "went through five editions, attracting the attention of all Europe."

Of the later history of electricity, it is impossible within our necessary limits to notice any details, so multiplied and so varied are the applications of electricity, and so numerous the inventions of machinery adapted to the different kinds of work to be done. Suffice it to say that the author gives a very clear account of the most important instruments for producing electricity, and of the principles on which they are constructed. He describes various electro-motors, the electric telegraph, electrolysis, the electric light, the speaking telephone, and the applications of electricity to medicine, war, railways, time, music, etc.

The author indulges also in some day-dreaming as to the possibilities of the future in still further developments of the capabilities of electricity. Thus he muses concerning the phonograph, an instrument for the permanent recording of sounds that can be reproduced by means of the telephone:—

It is far more durable as a record than even the printed page; and, like the latter, it may by electrotyping be infinitely reduplicated. Who knows but that the books of the future will be made in this way? Imagine the author dictating his thoughts to the slowly revolving waxed plate, and finally sending them to the world in the form of an iron plate. And then the reader—or rather hearer—simply goes to the collection of plates that forms his library, selects his volume, fastens it on the shaft driven by a little electric motor, touches the button which starts the machine, puts his telephone to his ear, and listens to the author's words read by the author, and so given the meaning which the author intended.

Dr. Benjamin, while thus giving reins to his own fancies, is a little hard on others indulging in like reveries, even though some degree of "humbug" might be attributed to them. Thus he tells of Pivati, "a person of eminence in Venice," who, in the year 1747, proposed to convey medicinal virtues by means of electricity, and of "even so eminent a philosopher as Winkler of Leipsic" improving the theory by professing to convey perfumes in the same way. The author exclaims, "Think of conveying perfumes by telegraph!" But why should he be incredulous? Do not perfumes excite the olfactory nerve, which by its subtle vibrations generates the sensation of odor? If the vibrations of the vocal chord can be transmitted by electricity, and at the end of the wire be resolved again into human speech, what hinders the vibrations of the olfactory nerve being in like manner conveyed to a distance, and, when received by another olfactory nerve, being reconverted into the sensation of odor?

Every one who wishes to have a general knowledge of what the science of electricity has accomplished, but has not the time for the full and accurate study of the subject, will find exactly what he requires in this very entertaining book of Dr. Benjamin.

The study of the phenomena of earthquakes has a very important practical bearing upon the interests and welfare of men

in all parts of the world. Observations have been made and recorded from a very early period of history; but as yet it has been impossible to reduce these into a system from which to make deductions that are certain, and to be depended upon even when to all appearance the surrounding circumstances are identical. Sufficient has, however, been done to arrive at many important practical suggestions. A comprehensive view of the numerous observations of scientific investigators, together with a discussion of their various theories, of the plans and methods proposed to escape injury, has been given in the fifty-fifth volume of the International Scientific Series, which treats of *Earthquakes and other Earth Movements*.*

The author arranges his subject under the various heads of "Earthquakes, or the sudden violent movements of the ground;" "Earth Tremors, or minute movements which escape our attention by the smallness of their amplitude;" "Earth Pulsations, or movements which are overlooked on account of the length of their period;" and lastly, "Earth Oscillations, or movements of long period and large amplitude, which attract so much attention from their geological importance." Though thus distinguishing between these various earth movements, the author concedes that it is difficult to separate them from each other, "because they are phenomena which only differ in degree, and which are intimately associated in their occurrence and in their origin."

The author first describes the various instruments that are used to measure and exhibit the effects and the character of earth movements. The most important of these are illustrated by cuts, to make their construction and use more easily understood. A complete seismograph must make three distinct records: first, horizontal motion; secondly, vertical motion; and thirdly, the exact time at which the movement begins. The duration of the earthquake is estimated from the length of the mark made on smoked paper on a revolving drum and the rate of revolution. Such an instrument has been constructed and is now in use in Japan. It is so extremely sensitive as to show not only earthquakes, but also the pulsations of long period.

There is, however, a practical difficulty in the use of instru-

* *Earthquakes and other Earth Movements.* By JOHN MILNE, Professor of Mining and Geology in the Imperial College of Engineering, Tokio, Japan. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1886.

ments of extreme delicacy in eliminating such tremors as are accidental, or, if natural and continuous, have no connection with the more violent and occasional movements to which the name of earthquake is ordinarily limited. For this purpose special instruments have been contrived, which, when attached to a microphone, it is said, will indicate, both by sound and motion, the step of a person on the grass at a distance of six feet. An instrument devised by Sir William Thompson magnified the earth's vibrations 50,000 times. By its means the shifting of a man's weight from one foot to the other was noted at a distance of sixteen feet. Experiments made with instruments of this kind prove that the surface of the earth is in a continual state of minute vibration. Some of these tremors are perhaps connected with earthquakes more or less remote in time or place, but the great majority of them have apparently an entirely independent cause.

The author discusses the nature and cause of earthquakes both theoretically and practically, deductively from assumed principles, and inductively from recorded observations, endeavoring so to modify each line of argument as to make his conclusions as far as possible concur. After all, there is so much uncertainty in the result as to indicate that the character of earthquakes varies greatly in the nature of their movement and in the causes of their origination.

The practical matter of guarding against the dangers of earthquakes in those countries where they are frequent and violent receives a large share of consideration. These dangers result chiefly from the fall of buildings in whole or part, and from the opening of fissures in the ground.

Observation shows that in any given locality the earthquake waves of motion travel more frequently in one direction than in any other. Walls at right angles to this direction are more affected than those parallel. The former should therefore have as few openings and be made as strong and solid as possible. Another style of house which experience has proved advantageous is adopted by the Japanese. This consists of a light frame filled with wattlework of bamboo, and the whole placed on a foundation of round boulders. The great danger to houses of this sort is from fire caused by shaking down lighted lamps. "None of the temples and palaces thus constructed, although many of them are several centuries old, and although they have

been shaken by small earthquakes, and also by many severe ones, show any signs of having suffered."

In every earthquake region there are certain places where the movements are excessively violent, and others where they are not felt at all. Sometimes in the same town one house will be totally destroyed, and in the next house no motion be observed. Regions of considerable extent, in the midst of a volcanic country, are frequently entirely exempt from disturbance. "It would seem as if the shock passed beneath such a district as water passes beneath a bridge, and for this reason these districts have been christened 'bridges.' This phenomenon appears to depend upon the nature of the underlying soil. When an elastic wave passes from one bed of rock to another of a different character, a certain portion of the wave is reflected, while the remainder of it is transmitted and refracted."

Fissures open in the ground usually parallel to some natural feature, such as the line of an elevated cliff, or the bed of a river, or a range of mountains. The Japanese to escape them run to a bamboo grove, where the matted roots either prevent any fissure, or keep men from falling within. At New Madrid in Missouri, in 1812, Lyell tells us, "as the shocks lasted throughout a period of three months, the country people had time to remark that there were certain prevailing directions in which the fissures opened in their district." They therefore felled the tallest trees, so that they crossed the line of these fissures at right angles, and resorted to them as places of refuge.

The number of earthquakes has been calculated to be on an average two per day for the whole world, but Professor Milne maintains that those of Japan alone are as numerous as that. Many attempts have been made to establish a periodicity in earthquakes; yet, although some striking coincidences occur, and there seem to be alternating periods of greater or less activity in earth movements in various countries, all such attempts have hitherto failed. Predictions of earthquakes founded upon such reasoning, though in a few instances fulfilled, have in the great majority of cases utterly failed.

Milne, however, is sanguine of ultimate success in foretelling these disturbances with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. "As our knowledge of earth movements and their attendant phenomena increases, there is but little doubt that laws will be gradually formulated, and in the future, as telluric dis-

turbances increase, a large black ball gradually ascending a staff may warn the inhabitants on the land of a coming earthquake, with as much certainty as the ball upon a pole at many seaports warns the mariner of coming storms.

THEOLOGY.

The way in which to exert a proper religious influence over the undergraduate students of our colleges has called forth much thought on the part of the responsible authorities in such institutions, and has led to considerable discussion in the public journals and reviews. This influence is largely exerted by means of the chapel services, and the instruction given in sermons and other religious discourses. The unsatisfactory character of the usual extemporary prayer has become so evident that Harvard has begun the experiment of a responsive and quasi-choral service, with apparently a fair prospect of success. Equally unsatisfactory in many instances has been the result of the preaching that has been heard in the College Chapel. No mere morality, no mere exhortations to holiness, much less sermons designed only for an hour's pleasant entertainment, can be expected to produce a permanent effect upon the lives of young men. There is need of definite instruction in religious doctrine and in Divine precepts. Dr. Lyman Beecher, when he wished to get up a revival in his congregations, always began by setting forth in the strongest and plainest terms the full Calvinistic system of theology. The result invariably followed of a quickened interest in personal religion. This arose not from any special efficacy in Calvinism. Logically applied, that system would rather discourage men from personal effort. It exhibited only the power of any (no matter what) definite religious doctrine to stir up the mind and set it to thinking ; whereas the preaching of beautiful morality or simple, pious exhortation, excites only a passing emotion without any true thought. Young men, who are getting trained to think with clearness and precision on other topics, must have religion set before them with equal precision, clearness, and definiteness, in order to attract their attention. Such teaching can be found only in institutions that are under the direction of those who have a fixed creed, and do not hesitate to teach it clearly and fully.

A volume of sermons* having such definite teaching in view, addressed to college students, has been recently published by Dr. Fairbairn, at the request of the alumni of S. Stephen's College. In these sermons we have Christian doctrine clearly and distinctly set forth. The nature and the work of the Church, the necessity of a priesthood, the character of faith, the obligation of repentance, and the "qualities which belong to man as such, — truth, and honor, and devotion to duty, and straightforwardness," — are all inculcated with an earnestness of spirit that impresses the reader with the writer's own deep conviction of the truth of what he utters.

Of the Church the author says : "The Apostolic Church was an organised body, which presented to the world a visible unity. That unity was one of its notes." "It was the employment of that one creed, one rite, one government for a common purpose, in order to bind them to one *Lord*, which made the Church one, which united it together in harmony with itself." Of the ministry we read : "The Christian minister is a priest, and not simply a preacher. What then is a Christian priest ? S. Paul has given us this definition of a priest, by which we are bound. He says that a priest is one who 'is ordained for men in things pertaining to God.' "

While setting forth Christian doctrine as received by the Church, and because so received, Dr. Fairbairn does not ignore the mutual relations of religion and science both physical and mental, and the influence which Christianity has had upon the civilisation of the world. We find in the volume sermons upon such topics as "Religion no obstacle to science," "Why men do not embrace the Christian religion," "The necessity of human learning," "Christian civilisation." An extract from the first of these will serve to illustrate the clearness and logical force of the writer : —

Of course, in an age of great mental activity like the present, when so many of the facts of nature are laid bare and are brought under the consideration of thinking men, we must expect explanations, often crude and ingenious, which will be found to be imperfect generalisations. But we ought to have it clearly before our minds that there are no facts of which we ought to be afraid. The facts of nature are en-

* *Sermons*, preached in the Chapel of S. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y., by ROBERT B. FAIRBAIRN, D. D., LL. D., Warden of the College. New York : Thomas Whittaker. 1886.

titled to our respect and our faith ; and we can afford to give them our respect and our faith, because our religion is a fact. Whatever other facts there are in the world, our religion is also a fact.

The comparison of Scripture with Scripture is one of the most efficient ways for correctly determining the sense of Holy Writ. For this purpose concordances began to be compiled so soon as the revival of literature awakened a spirit of inquiry as to the interpretation of the Sacred Writings. The first of these useful indexes was made by Cardinal Hugues de Saint Cher, in connection with Conrad Halberstadt, a monk, about the middle of the thirteenth century. This was intended for the received Latin version. The earliest concordance of the Hebrew of the Old Testament was made by Rabbi Isaac Nathan in the middle of the fifteenth century. That of the Greek New Testament was compiled under the direction of Xystus Betuleius, principal of the College of Augsburg, in the early part of the sixteenth century ; that of the Greek of the Septuagint, by Conrad Kircker, published in 1607. These pioneers have had several followers, who from time to time have incorporated such changes as the advance in textual criticism required. The latest of these is Hudson,* who compiled a *Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament*. For almost three years Mr. Hudson was steadily occupied with this work. "The body of the work was completed, the Index finished, the Introduction drafted, and the Supplement begun," when the undertaking was interrupted by the sickness and death of the author. What was still necessary to be done was attended to by Dr. Abbot, Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the University School of Harvard University, who had taken a lively interest in the work from the beginning.

The concordance is arranged in a very clear and convenient manner, so that the mere English reader can readily understand and use it for ascertaining the sense of the original Greek. Its title of a Critical Concordance is fully justified. There are constant cross references to the marginal readings of the English Authorized Version, and also cross references to the principal various readings of the Greek. In an Appendix we have such various readings in larger clauses as have met more or less approval from Griesbach, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; and in the

* *A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament*, prepared by CHARLES F. HUDSON. Seventh edition. To which is added *Green's Greek and English Lexicon*. Boston : H. L. Hastings. London : S. Bagster & Sons. 1885.

Supplement, further various readings in which the different recensions of the Sinaitic MS. are separately distinguished. The volume forms an exceedingly useful and convenient manual for New Testament students.

The progressive development of revelation and the gradual unfolding of religious doctrine, so as to become more fully and clearly understood, and to be accepted and observed in the daily life, has of late years received much attention from theologians, and the practical importance of that study has been generally appreciated. A careful examination of the Bible itself, with a view to bring out and exhibit this progress as it may be observed in the records of the Old Testament Scriptures, was made by Gustav Friedrich Oehler, and published in 1873. Of this work, marked by "the most conservative tendency of the Lutheran Theology of Germany," we have a very full summary in a work entitled *Biblical Theology of the Old Testament*.*

This book constitutes the second part of a series, evidently intended to embrace the whole subject of theology in its various branches and applications. The first part, already published, is upon *Exegetical Theology*; the third and fourth parts, yet to appear, are on *Systematic Theology* and *Practical Theology*.

The present volume is a carefully condensed epitome of Oehler; the author, however, occasionally expressing his own sentiments and those of others, where they differ from Oehler. In the Introduction we have defined the object held in view by the author.

Biblical Theology of the Old Testament has for its task the historical exhibition of the religion contained in the canonical books of the Old Testament, according to its progressive development and the variety of the forms in which it appears.

The special revelation of God does not at a bound enter the world all finished and complete, but as it enters the sphere of human life, it observes the laws of historical development, which are grounded in the general Divine system of the world.

After the introduction the work is divided into three parts: first *Mosaism*, under the two heads of the History of Revelation from the Creation to the occupation of Canaan, and the Doctrines and Ordinances of Mosaism. This division occupies

* *Biblical Theology of the Old Testament*, based on Oehler. By REVERE FRANK LIN WEIDNER, Professor of Theology in the Augustana Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. Chicago: F. H. Revell. 1886.

about one half the volume, and presents a very clear though necessarily brief account of the history, and of the doctrines and religious rites and usages of the Israelites. The second part is *Prophetism*. This division is also treated under two heads: the Development of the Theocracy from the death of Joshua to the close of the Old Testament Revelation, and the Theology of Prophetism. The former of these heads embraces in substance a historical account of the religious influence exercised by the prophets amid the varying moral and political condition of the Israelites. Under the second head we have a discussion of the character and intent of prophecy, of the nature of inspiration, and how far it held in subjection or obliterated the individual will and consciousness.

"The psychical form of prophecy is rather that of an *inward intuition*, taking the word in its wider signification. It belongs to this intuition that the prophet is aware that the matter of revelation is directly given, and not produced by his own agency; and this is just what the prophets affirm with respect to their prophecies." Hence the prophets designate themselves as seers. "It is true that in prophecy states do occur in which the individual life is subjugated by the power of the Divine Spirit, but it is not true that these *coincide* with the state of prophetic revelation, nay, they are not even essential thereto." We have examples of this in *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*, but they did not receive the revelation until they had recovered, by Divine help, from their benumbing amazement.

The third part treats of the *Old Testament Wisdom*. To this department of Biblical knowledge the three canonical books of the Old Testament, *Job*, *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes*, and some of the *Psalms* preëminently belong. "The *Hhokhma* does not in equal manner (with the Law) refer its matter to direct Divine causation. It has even been styled *the Philosophy of the Hebrews*. But Old Testament wisdom is nevertheless essentially different from other philosophy. It is based, indeed, upon the observation of nature and human affairs, and especially in the latter case upon experience as handed down by the ancients. In such investigations of nature and human life, however, it is placed under a regulative factor which Greek wisdom does not possess; it starts from a *supernaturalistic assumption* which the latter lacks."

This volume contains an admirable compendium of revealed

religion so far as it was developed in the Old Testament. It is clearly and systematically arranged, and in general free from humanly devised systems of theology, presenting simply and solely what is contained in the Scriptures. On the questions of circumcision and sacrifice, however, the views of the author seem to be somewhat colored by the current popular notions of the day. "Circumcision is essentially distinguished from Christian baptism by not constituting an *immediate* personal relation between God and the recipient of the ordinance. It does not operate as an individual means of grace. Circumcision is no vehicle of sanctifying forces, as it makes no demand as to the internal state of the recipient. The rite effects admission to the fellowship of the covenant people as an *opus operatum*, securing to the individual as a member of the nation his share in the promises and saving benefits granted to the nation as a whole. On the other hand, circumcision certainly makes ethical demands on him who *has* received it. It binds him to obedience to God, whose covenant sign he bears in his body, and to a blameless walk before Him. Thus it is *the symbol of the renewal and purification of heart.*" But how can this correct statement of the object of circumcision be said not to constitute "an immediate personal relation between God and the recipient of the ordinance"?

The volume will prove a very useful aid to students of divinity, and as a book of reference. The lists of authors on the various topics of Biblical literature, though extremely partial, will contribute to this utility.

The relation of the living and the departed in CHRIST's Church possesses a deep interest for the human heart. That Holy Scripture is not altogether clear upon this point, we may conclude from the numerous arguments which have been published, none of which are so conclusive as to settle the question. As under the Mosaic dispensation many truths (for instance, the doctrines of the atonement and the resurrection) were but dimly revealed and awaited the time of CHRIST's first coming for their full and clear announcement; so perhaps under the Christian dispensation, for trial of our faith and to discipline the soul, some truths await the second coming of our LORD for their distinct perception. One theme which appeals with great force to the hearts of bereaved friends for a definite answer

concerns the *recognition* of friends *in the world to come*.* On this subject Dr. Gray has put forth a small volume, which treats the matter in a very logical and systematic manner.

Dr. Gray's argument, unlike most of the treatises and sermons on this subject, is based upon the general tenor of the Scriptures, though towards the close of his book he adduces special passages which directly imply this recognition. "The reasoning must be chiefly based upon *principles* which are revealed in the Bible rather than upon single statements or passages. This former mode of proof is the stronger with regard to any point of revelation. With respect to the Trinity or the Incarnation, the chief evidence of these is the fact that they underlie the Bible language and run through it as a constant assumption. Upon this we base our belief, rather than upon some texts that may be disputed or evaporated. In the same way the doctrine of which we are treating is to be found rather in certain assumed principles than in definite and positive texts, although the latter are not wanting." "A principle of revelation cannot be explained away without tearing the whole fabric."

In pursuance of this method, Dr. Gray first calls attention to those many passages in which our LORD speaks of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as distinct personages in the unseen world, and occupying peculiar places of honor and authority. To enjoy this honor and authority they must be known by their fellow heirs of salvation to be those patriarchs. A second argument is derived from the numerous texts which represent the redeemed as associating together. Companionship implies a mutual knowledge of each other; and if distinct personality is retained in a future life, this mutual knowledge must lead to recognition. A third argument is derived from the fact that the final judgment, being pronounced in accordance with the deeds done in the body, implies that the actions and relations of this life are all called to remembrance, after the general resurrection and the restoration of the body. The memory of the past is not therefore obliterated at death nor at the resurrection. A fourth argument is drawn from the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. That these awards may appear just, and not to proceed from mere caprice, a remembrance of the deeds done in the body must be retained after the judgment and through all that period in which these rewards or punish-

* *The Scriptural Doctrine of Recognition in the World to Come.* By GEORGE ZABRISKIE GRAY, D. D. Fourth Edition. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

ments are received. A distinction of degree in the bliss of the righteous and the misery of the wicked, made to correspond with the varying degrees of obedience or unfaithfulness in this life, but adds to the force of this conclusion. A fifth argument is derived from the expectation of S. Paul so frequently expressed to meet his converts at the judgment and present them to God as tokens of his own personal faithfulness in the work of his ministry. A sixth and final argument consists in specific passages in which the doctrine of recognition is directly implied, such as 1 *Thessalonians*, iv. 13-18, and 2 *Thessalonians*, ii. 1. In a concluding section the author discusses the time and place of this recognition. The time is at the general resurrection, not before, while sojourning in the place of disembodied spirits. The place is not in heaven where God and the angels dwell. "The Bible nowhere asserts this. It has very little to say upon the subject that is of undebatable clearness. But, as far as it does guide us, it points to this world in a restored condition as the abode of the redeemed."

This little treatise has proved, by its having reached a fourth edition, that it in some measure meets the longings of those for whom it was written; and we may believe that, through it, many have learned "to sorrow not, even as others which have no hope."

Time was when all knowledge which required an intellectual effort was confined to the clergy. Even those branches of learning and those pursuits requiring mental training, that are now regarded as secular, were monopolised by the priestly class. The present age is, however, marked by a wide departure from such a state of affairs. Not only the fields of moral philosophy and psychology are cultivated by laymen, but even those subjects which are recognised as more especially suitable to clergymen, such as the evidences of revealed religion, the authenticity and inspiration of the various books of the Bible, are getting to be discussed by laymen.

A short treatise on the external evidences of the *Authorship of the Four Gospels** has been recently published by an "ex-judge" of the District Court of the United States. A mind judicially trained and having had long experience in weighing

* *Authorship of the Four Gospels. External Evidences.* By WILLIAM MARVIN, Ex-judge of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of Florida. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1886.

testimony is specially fitted for examining such a topic. The attention of Judge Marvin was drawn to this subject by accidentally meeting at a hotel an intelligent gentleman sceptically inclined, who had satisfied himself that the Gospel of Marcion was the only original Gospel, and that the commonly received four Gospels were all later, and all spurious. This led Judge Marvin to examine the evidence upon which these four were received by the Church as the genuine writings of the Evangelists whose names they bear. The result of this investigation is set before the public in a brief and compact form in the small volume under review.

The author argues first that even if these Gospels were written, as claimed by some, not before the close of the second century, they would not necessarily contain untrustworthy accounts. Only one hundred and fifty years would have passed since the ascension of JESUS CHRIST, so that even on such a supposition the grandparents of the writers might have been eyewitnesses of the events recorded. In secular history such testimony would be considered of the highest value for accuracy.

The author goes on, however, to examine the testimony that still exists, to determine the actual date and authorship of the Gospels. This testimony has been so often and so thoroughly sifted that but little, if anything, new can be said upon the subject. All that can be done is to arrange the argument in a somewhat different form and set it forth in a somewhat varied light, so as to meet the difficulties that some minds still find in accepting its sufficiency. This Judge Marvin has done by condensing the proof and showing exactly upon what points it bears, very much after the manner of a judge in court summing up the evidence when delivering his charge to the jury.

The only testimony recently discovered, and found therefore only in very recent publications, on the authenticity of the four Gospels is that contained in the *Teaching of the Apostles*. In this there is, in the first place, no negative evidence to show that the author of this treatise did *not* recognise the existence of the Gospels written by the four Evangelists, although he does not mention their names. In the second place, there is the positive evidence of seeming quotations, of the Lord's Prayer as given in S. Luke's Gospel, and of portions of the Sermon on the Mount as given by S. Matthew. The author allows, however, that these references may have come from an oral Gospel, not necessarily from a written document.

The author's conclusion is that back to the time of Papias, A. D. 140, the Gospels are frequently referred to by the names of their writers. Previous to that time they are quoted, though not named, by all the authors whose writings have come down to us. The argument that because the Gospels are not named until the middle of the second century, therefore they did not exist, is a *non sequitur*.

There is proof positive that by this time the four Gospels were generally known and recognised to be the works of the Evangelists. Such a general belief and acceptance could not, however, have sprung up at once. It would require at least three generations for any such general currency to obtain; for within that period there would be many still living to testify from personal knowledge against any such general belief, if it had no real basis. Now three generations would take us back to the time of the Apostles themselves. This argument the author put forth in very vigorous and clear language. "If our Gospels were written and first circulated" in the last half of the second century "according to some critics, then they were written and first circulated when Irenæus was in the full vigor of his intellect, in the active service of the Church. He must have known something about their origin. He must at least have known that they did not originate in the Apostolic times. He must have remembered a time when he knew nothing of them, when he first saw or heard of them, and when they first began to be read in the churches. He must have known that he never heard Polycarp, Pothinus, Papias, or any other aged person speak of them as existing in their younger days. And if this were so, then what he says in the above extracts (given in full by the author) in regard to their Apostolic origin, are deliberate falsehoods, — not mere mistakes or errors of judgment, for there is no room for these, but falsehoods, — falsehoods, too, promulgated not only before the whole body of Christians, Jews, and Pagans of that day, but also in the presence of the Gnostics against whom he was writing, many of whom were learned men. These would not have been slow to expose his slightest errors and misrepresentations, and charge him with them."

Such arguments coming from laymen well versed in the art of scrutinising testimony cannot fail to produce an effect upon laymen in counteracting the specious misrepresentations of rationalists.

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